

4 January 1984

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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HUNGARIANS SUPPORT NUCLEAR FREE ZONE IN BALKANS

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 83 p 8

/Article by Miklos Ped: "Not an Unrealistic Dream"/

/Text/ The week-end meeting 2 weeks ago of Todor Zhivkov and Andreas Papandreou in the old Bulgarian capital at the "Arbanasi" residence near Veliko Tirnovo continued the traditional, regular consultations between the leaders of the two neighboring countries. This is the second time Panandreuou has visited Bulgaria since his victory in the fall 1981 elections and the formation of the PASOK government.

Despite the nonofficial, friendly character of the Papandreou visit, the present meeting of the Bulgarian president and the Greek Prime Minister came to the forefront of interest for international public opinion because both made optimistic statements about realistic possibilities for the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the Balkans, something which would have a favorable impact on the political situation in all of Europe. Both sides regard as timely and realizable the ideas relating to the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the Balkans peninsula. Bulgaria supports the Greek initiative for experts of the countries concerned to meet in Athens in January to discuss details. The Bulgarian statesman was the first Balkan leader to give a positive reply to Papandreou's initiative, which may form the basis for a later summit meeting. The Greeks on their part assured Todor Zhivkov of support for his earlier proposal that the heads of state of the Balkan countries meet in Sofia to discuss the details of the question.

The Regional Situation

In response to questions raised about the practical tasks involved in the establishment of a nuclear free zone, noteworthy replies were made by Zhivkov and Papandreou at a joint press conference in Bulgaria. In relation to making Greece a nuclear free country, Andreas Papandreou stated that Greece is not discussing this question with the United States. "We have undertaken an obligation to free our area of nuclear arms, and we shall do this," he added. Zhivkov stated that Bulgaria is guided by the principle that the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the Balkan peninsual would contribute to the consolidation of European and universal peace and the avoidance of thermonuclear war, and its importance for our continent would be particularly great. Responding to a



question raised by a Greek journalist whether Soviet missiles are being deployed in Bulgaria, Zhivkov stated: "You can see for yourselves that a country, a people, a party, and a state which is making such a concerned effort to contribute to the prevention of thermonuclear war and the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the Balkans is not weighing the deployment of nuclear weapons. Naturally, if the new American missiles are deployed this would bring about a qualitatively different situation which we would have to assess and take into account."

The political situation in the Balkans has always been complicated and tense, but now thanks to the efforts of all the Balkan countries, it is relatively calm. The concern in this region as in Europe and around the world is caused by the arms race and the dangers of a thermonuclear war. This is why public opinion in the countries of this area welcome and support the idea of a nuclear free zone in the Balkans, which according to Sofia's appraisal is not an unrealistic dream of closeted scholars and humanists. Since the beginning of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire in the early 1820's, relations have never been so good and cooperation so firm along the Balkan states as now. The outlines of a summit conference have not as yet been drawn but public reaction in the states concerned has been favorable to the 2-year old Bulgarian proposal, for the realization of which the conference in Athens to be held in January of next year would represent the first step.

For historical, political and geopolitical reasons, peace in the Balkans and the relations of the states with different sociopolitical systems situated closely together in a relatively small area depend to a considerable extent on the Bulgarian People's Republic. In the geographical center of the peninsula, Bulgaria occupies a position of key importance and neighbors on all the Balkan states, except Albania, and including two NATO members, Greece and Turkey. As a sign of its consistent and ideological peace policy, Bulgaria announced at the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party in 1981 that it will sign with its neighbors the codex of good neighborly relations and sign with the surrounding states bilateral agreements on the renunciation of territorial demands. In autumn of the same year the Bulgarian president on the occasion of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of the Bulgarian state initiated the holding of a Balkan summit conference in Sofia to clarify problems relating to the establishment of a nuclear free zone.

#### Proposals and Replies

Romania and Greece have responded with an unequivocal yes to the Bulgarian proposal, and Yugoslavia gave its agreement in principle with some reservations and amendments. Turkey did not directly reject the idea, but it made its participation contingent on a world political relaxation, that is, on the development of big power relations. Kenan Evren, the Turkish president, explained in his Bulgarian visit that European security and the reduction of tensions form a unified process. For this very reason--Evren pointed out--it would not be correct if relations among the Balkan states divorced them from this unified whole and they attempted to reduce tensions only in this area.

In this year's January political statement in Prague, the political advisory body of the Warsaw Pact supported the establishment of nuclear free zones in

Eastern Europe, the Balkans and other areas of the continent and making the Mediterranean Sea a zone of peace and cooperation. An official initiative of this type has come from Sweden. At the end of the Second World War, Stockholm made an initiative for the establishment of a "club consisting of countries that do not have nuclear weapons," and it is from this that the large-scale proposal grew for the establishment of a nuclear free Scandinavia.

The idea of a nuclear free Balkan zone first arose 26 years ago. Based on a plan by Chivu Stoica, then prime minister of Romania, the peninsula would have been freed of such dangerous weapons from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. The Soviet Union made a similar proposal in 1959 and 1963. At the 1968 conference of countries not possessing nuclear weapons, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania revived the proposal, and it was repeated by Romania in 1972. On 20 October 1981 Todor Zhivkov presented the now well-known Bulgarian proposal which suggested a summit conference of Balkan leaders at Sofia to discuss the question.

#### A Global Interest

The concept of a nuclear free zone should be clarified. By a nuclear free zone is meant an area within the boundaries of which the working out, testing, manufacture, deployment, storage and delivery of nuclear weapons are forbidden by international agreement. Such zones can be set up in inhabited and uninhabited areas, in various regions of the world and in outer space. Independently of the geographical, political and strategic characteristics of certain areas, a nuclear free zone has certain essential common features which determine its political and international legal status. The idea of a nuclear free zone which was first embodied in the Antarctic agreement of 1959 derived also in the past from the concept of a demilitarized zone. The second such precedent was the Tlatelolco agreement of 1967 which forbade nuclear weapons in the entire Latin American region, a total of 15 million square miles. The outer space agreement signed in the same year pronounced a similar prohibition for the cosmos.

The establishment of nuclear free zones is not an end to itself, but an important step to more comprehensive disarmament measures and to the consolidation of detente and mutual trust. Independently of certain obstacles that undoubtedly exist, the general judgment is that conditions are favorable for making the Balkans a nuclear free zone. It must be considered that most of the Balkan states are members of two, opposing military-political blocs, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. By itself, however, this cannot be regarded as an unsurmountable obstacle in the way of establishing a nuclear free zone. It is a positive circumstance that with the exception of Albania all Balkan states have signed the 1968 nuclear nonproliferation treaty, in which 119 states are participating.

Obviously the establishment of a nuclear free zone in the Balkans, which in the rather recent past had the doubtful reputation of being synonymous with a "powder keg," would be appropriate to the interests of the countries and peoples in the area and would at the same time contribute significantly to improving the atmosphere and gradually rid Europe of nuclear weapons.

The establishment of nuclear free zones in the Balkans, Northern Europe, the Indian Ocean, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere would serve to guarantee the security of certain continents or geographical regions. The realization of all such peace zones can be a good means for solving global tasks, contribute to limiting the arms race and consolidating international peace and security.

## CRIME LAB IDENTIFICATION PROCEDURES DISCUSSED

Tirane DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 2, Apr-Jun 83 pp 72-76

[Article by Bardhyl Cipi: "The Identification of Individuals and the Method of Photographic Superimposition in Our Forensic Medicine and Crime Lab Practice"]

[Text] In forensic medicine and crime lab procedures, the aim of the identification of individuals is to determine the identity of living and deceased persons on the basis of their appearances, parts of their body, or their remains.

Before the liberation, like in other fields of science, no interest was shown in the study of the problems of forensic medicine and crime lab identification. This being the case, only in rare cases were forensic medicine, and crime lab experiments done outside the country,<sup>1</sup> because during the feudal-bourgeois regime or during the foreign occupation no real efforts were made to expose penal acts or their perpetrators, who in most cases acted directly or indirectly as blind tools of the bloodthirsty rulers who brutally suppressed the poor people of our country.

Only during the years of peoples' rule were conditions created in conformity with the needs of our new legislation for a scientific, forensic medicine and crime lab body which would assist the organs of justice in the struggle against crime.

Today, in our country there are two main institutions with crime lab expertise: the Central Crime Laboratory and the Bureau of Forensic Medicine Expertise, established in 1952 and 1953, respectively. Employees in the latter institution, like employees in the nation's other scientific institutions, inspired by the decisions of the Eighth Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party, the party's documents, and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, carry out, according to the requirements of our scientific and technological revolution, various activities in the field of identifying individuals by employing the most advanced scientific methods.

In order to solve the problem of identification, it is necessary to examine several main distinguishing marks of the subjects. These marks should be stable, rare and original. Their totality makes up the necessary characteristics of the individuality of the subject being identified.



The identifying marks are divided into two categories: the general and the particular. The first represents common traits characteristic of subjects of the same nature, such as, a man, type, sex, age, body, etc., while the second represents the individual characteristic that distinguishes the subject under examination from all other similar subjects, in the case of a man, fingerprints, anthropometric statistics in their entirety, dental features, etc.

The process of identification is carried out through a comparative examination in two phases: the first phase consists of the comparative examination of general marks to determine the group to which the subject belongs, that is, the sex and type; and in the second or final phase, a comparative examination of the particular marks is undertaken to determine the individuality of the subject under examination. Thus, for example, when a person has to be identified based on his skeleton, the group to which he belongs is determined in the first phase on the basis of general marks (type, sex, age, body), and in the second phase, the identity of the individual is confirmed based on particular traits and, when the need arises, through a comparison of skull x-rays.

The division of the identification process into two phases is explained by the dialectic and materialist theory of knowledge. On the basis of this theory, "...human thought by its very nature can and does provide us with the absolute truth, which is made up of many relative truths. Every step in the development of science adds to the absolute truth, but the borders of the truth of every scientific hypothesis are relative, because they either expand or narrow with the increase of knowledge."<sup>2</sup>

In the forensic medicine, there are many circumstances when the identification of an individual is required in civil as in penal cases.

In civil cases, the need arises to identify foundlings and unidentified children, abandoned old people, and individuals with false identities.

In penal cases, the identification of an individual is done on the basis of unknown fresh or decomposed corpses, with or without body damage, as well as in other cases.

The identification of an individual in our country through skeleton bones has been executed with a scientific precision by forensic medicine and crime lab workers, by relying primarily on the principle of self-reliance as well as the progressive data from anthropology, forensic medicine and crime lab practice.

At the basis of the problem of identifying an individual based on his bones is the well-known principle that they have many particular traits, which give every skeleton an individuality of its own.

In this direction, radiological documents taken before death of different parts of the skeleton, especially x-rays of the skull and its sinuses, can be helpful.

But bone parts that have been most helpful in the field of medical and legal identification have been the teeth with their many characteristics that can be well known while the person is alive, for whose study a special branch of forensic dentistry was created a long time ago. Nevertheless, everyday practice has shown that the identification of teeth, like the identification of distinguishing bone traits in general, is not done the way it should be. Thus today, in the process of identifying a person without the abovenamed distinguishing marks, the method of picture superimposition on the basis of the skull, which involves a complex forensic medicine and crime lab examination, have been used successfully. This form of identification is based on the comparison of two objects, which are the skull found and the picture of the face of the person to whom it is thought to have belonged.

The general appearance of the skull, especially parts of the face, correspond closely to the exterior part of a man's head. Tissues in a man's skull are relatively smaller than in other parts of the body. Therefore, although they fill, up to a point, the exterior of the skull, they still retain their general traits.

On the other hand, each skull has a special appearance that does not correspond to any other, as becomes evident from the measurements between different points of this relief, thus the total of their results is different for each skull.

The second object of identification in question is the picture of the face of the missing person. This presents the object in space in an individual plan. Thus, the position of the points on the skull is different and does not fully correspond to their real position.

For this reason, and in order to have the best identification possible, the skull has to be photographed in such a way so that the change in the position of its points is the same as the change in the points of the picture of the missing person. Only in this way will it be possible not only to make comparisons between topographic and structural points of the person's face with those of the skull, but also between the two pictures.

If during this comparison, all these indexes of the skull do not correspond with those of the face, then the possibility of a relationship between the skull and the person to be identified is excluded. On the other hand, if the two correspond then there is a possibility that the skull belongs to the person being identified.

The technique used here, which has been used in other countries for 3 or 4 decades in special photographic, forensic medicine and crime labs, and in our country since 1962, beginning with the well known case of K.Xh., is as follows:

The picture showing the face of the person being identified is reproduced on a photographic disk with the measurements of 9 x 12 centimeters. From its negative, using photographic paper, the positive is taken, on which are inserted the well-known topographic and structural points and in which the eyebrows, the nose, lips, etc., are drawn. Then these are copied with a special

pen and ink on a clear transparent celluloid sheet, which is placed on the lens of the camera which will photograph the skull. The latter is placed in a stand above a mobile holder which has an axle which connects into the large occipital cavity and makes it possible to place the skull in the desired position during the photographing process. The skull is illuminated by three lamps, on both sides and overhead, which make its contours clearer and darken the eye cavities.

The camera is placed on another stand facing the skull, on a piece of glass containing the celluloid with the images made earlier of the anatomic-topographic features. The camera is placed at such a distance that the picture of the skull is taken at the same distance as that of the picture of the head of the person being identified. Then the position of the skull in space is corrected so that the guiding points and lines coincide with those of the face copied on the celluloid sheet.

Then the picture is taken.

Finally, the photographic disk with the negative of the skull is joined to the negative of the face of the person being identified, in a way that the picture of the skull is placed well inside the figure of the head. From this union of negatives, a positive picture is taken, which is then enlarged. On the basis of this picture, a comparative examination is done to find out whether the points and the lines correspond, and based on these results, the respective conclusion is reached.

In connection with this method's proving value, authors are of the same opinion as far as the negative aspects are concerned, but differ in the case of a positive conclusion.

Thus, two foreign crime lab specialists, C. Chevet and P. Ceccelati,<sup>3</sup> believe that, like all other methods of identification, the method of photographic superimposition, too, is likely to provide a greater or lesser probability of identification, but not an absolute identification, and that only the use of other methods can strengthen the probability of approaching full proof.

One of our authors<sup>4</sup> has expressed the opinion that "when the appearance of the skull corresponds with the main topographic and structural points and lines, the expert reaches the possible conclusion that this skull might belong to the person being identified," while "when there are marks on the skull such as surgery, false teeth, deformations of the nose, etc., he can reach a positive conclusion on the identification."

But many different crime lab specialists<sup>5</sup> believe that based on this technique a categorically positive conclusion can be reached.

As far as we can tell, based also on the cases submitted during the last 10 years for photographic superimposition based on the skull, the latter opinion is fully justified, because it is based on sound arguments.



From the different cases in which the method of photographic superimposition has been used in our country, the following example is very characteristic.<sup>6</sup>

In a lake in the area of village M, an unidentified corpse was discovered, in an advance stage of decomposition (reduced to the skeleton) and without any signs of damage to the tissues and the skeleton. It was thought that the corpse belonged to citizen M. Gj., born in 1949, from the village H in the district of V. The investigation revealed that the victim in question was last seen in the district of P where he is suspected to have broken into a village store and, after being chased by the villagers, to have gone towards the river D, where he might have drowned.

In this case, since the corpse could not be identified through the regular investigation in the absence of any distinguishing marks, the method of photographic superimposition was used.

The examination showed that the corpse belonged to a male adult, of a dynamic type, age 25-30 years, traits which coincided with those of M. Gj.

Finally the method of photographic superimposition was used for an individual identification, which revealed a categorically positive conclusion that the skull examined did in fact belong to the citizen in question who had disappeared without leaving any trace.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The first study in the field of dactyloscopy was carried out in Italy where the material was sent for a criminal case, later tried in Tirana in 1931. S. Begeja "Kriminalistika" [Crime Lab Techniques], Tirana, 1971.
2. V.I. Lenin, "Materializmi dhe Empiriokriticizmi," [Material and Empirical Criticism], Tirana, 1972, p 130.
3. Ceccaldi, P.P., "La criminalistique," [Crime Lab Techniques], Paris, 1962.
4. S. Begeja, "Kriminalistika" [Crime Lab Techniques], Tirana, 1971.
5. Ch. Bazuri, "Identity determined through forensic dentistry expertise and photographic superimposition," Revue internationale de police criminelle, No 205, Paris, February 1967, pp 37-43.
6. Akti kompleks mjekoligjor dhe kriminalistik [Complex Decree on Forensic Medicine and Crime Lab Techniques], No 43.

INDRA ASSESSES CZECHOSLOVAK FEDERATION

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

/Interview with Alois Indra, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and chairman of the Federal Assembly, by a CTK reporter on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the passing of the law creating Czechoslovak Federation/

/Question/ Wherein do you see the main contribution of the constitutional law instituting the Czechoslovak Federation to the development of our socialist society?

/Answer/ The passing of the Czechoslovak Federation law 15 years ago represented the climax of an era of gradual enforcement of the main principles concerning nationality as it has been practiced in the socialist development of Czechoslovakia--/principles such as/ the nations' right to self-determination, legal and actual internationalism, consistent class approach, and democratic centralism.

The structure built on these cornerstones, which is the foundation of our federative system, is inseparable from the historical function of our workers' class and from the unifying role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

The Czechoslovak Federation came into existence and is developing--and the last 15 years have proved that it is developing successfully--as a logical outcome of the socialist, class, societal, economic, cultural, and social changes in our country. It is a part of the process of socialist revolution. Therefore, also the persistent attaining of the unity of the political and economic aspects of the constitutional form /of government/, based on the constitutional law that created the Czechoslovak Federation, is not a state fixed once and for all, but a permanent task.

The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the political vanguard of the working class of our nations and nationalities, created in the issue of nationality a situation which corresponds to the high level of development of our economy and to the attained level of national and international awareness of the citizens of our nations and nationalities.

To transform the constitutional law regarding the Czechoslovak Federation into everyday reality, practiced and experienced by us, and will be in the future a challenging supervisory and organizational task /requiring/ ideological education, controls, and large-scale political work with people, among people, securing their active participation.

As is known, the constitutional law instituting the Czechoslovak Federation was passed on 27 October 1968 and became effective on 1 January 1969. The socialist federation was thus being introduced into the life of our nations at a time of a sharp political struggle. It corresponded to the logic of the class struggle that in the arsenal which the domestic and foreign enemies of socialism were using during the critical period, the treacherously fraudulent weapon of bourgeois nationalism was being used intensively. They tried to taint the Czechoslovak union and exploit the remnants of extreme nationalism in order to enrage other nationalities.

Facing this danger, all healthy forces in the KSC /Communist Party of Czechoslovakia/ and in the working class and among other working people of our nations and nationalities realized more and more that the final defeat of the counter-revolution requires unconditional defense, renewal, and strengthening of the revolutionary achievements of our people. This required, among other things, the achievement of the closest possible coexistence and cooperation of the Czechs and Slovaks and of the Hungarian, German, Polish, and Ukrainian nationals living in the CSSR. This was in full accord with the KCS's orientation with regard to the federative structure of the Czechoslovak situation.

One could also express it like this: a federation was a political necessity not only from the point of view of harmonizing the relationship between our two nations and nationalities--though this was the main aim--but it was also one of the requisites for victory in the political struggle against antisocialist forces.

Fifteen years--that is a period that allows an objective evaluation of the fruits the new constitutional system brought forth. It is clear to every unprejudiced person that the socialist federation influenced and substantially raised the level of intrastate relations, that it has a beneficial impact on the relationships between our nations and nationalities. A distinctive development of the brotherly nations--the Czechs and the Slovaks--will strengthen the political and economic stability of the CSSR and raise its international authority.

The union of Czechs, Slovaks, and other nationalities within a federative state, formed on the basis of "an equal among equals," thus fully proved its historical "raison d'etre."

The federative form of government also proved itself for /another/ reason: the interests of the decisive forces of our society--the working class and its political vanguard, the Communist Party--are in harmony with the interests of the nations and nationalities of Czechoslovakia.

Our federative state is developing and improving through the active and faithful work of the representatives of the people and of wide masses of citizenry. We

see to it that peculiarities symptomatic of nation or nationality are neither neglected nor exaggerated. We are aware of the fact that sensitive respect for the interests of the various nations and nationalities strengthens the stability of the whole Czechoslovak Socialist Republic so that the interests and needs of the whole society can be satisfied. And we are succeeding. In doing so, we are fulfilling in everyday life the constitutional law of the Czechoslovak Federation.

/Question/ How are the principles of the law reflected and fulfilled in the activity of our highest representative body, the highest organ of state power?

/Answer/ Above all, it behooves the Federal Assembly of the CSSR to enforce and guard in all its activity the deeply democratic principles of the Czechoslovak Federation.

By its inner structure as well as by the principles of its activity it safeguards the full equality of rights of the Czech and Slovak nations and of other nationalities when dealing with the basic questions of domestic and foreign policy of the whole Czechoslovak state.

According to the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak Federation, both chambers of the Federal Assembly--the People's Chamber, which is the expression of the general democratic principle of representative system, and the Chamber of Nations, which is composed of an equal number of representatives elected in the CSR and SSR--are obligated to see to it that the national interests are fully respected and that the interests of both nations and of the other nationalities are not impaired.

Likewise, the rules concerning the representatives' voting on basic questions--constitutional laws, confidence in the government, the 5-year plan, the national budget, and such--require the passed resolutions to be an expression of consent of the elected representatives of both nations and all nationalities.

We consistently depend on the political maturity of the representatives, on their experiences stemming from the wisdom of all our citizens.

As the highest organ of state power and the legislative organ of the CSSR, the Federal Assembly consistently implements the principles of the Czechoslovak Federation. Through controls it also pays heed that constitutional provisions are respected and followed everywhere.

The Federal Assembly and its executive committee, the People's Chamber and the Chamber of Nations and their committees concern themselves in their activities with political, economic, and sociocultural questions pertinent to the whole Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The decisive questions, for instance, proposed laws, reports on governmental activity, control of the fulfillment of a state plan, the state of the national economy, international treaties, etc., are subjects of negotiations of all organs and are adopted at combined meetings of both chambers.

The existence of two chambers doubles the strength of our highest representative body, enables the inclusion of larger issues and the administration of more frequent parliamentary controls of the activity of the executive agencies. In addition to questions concerning the whole Federal Assembly, the two chambers include in their deliberations the problems resulting from political, economic, or societal needs of our federative state. This month, for instance, the People's Chamber dealt with the scientific and technical development and more rapid application thereof in production; the Chamber of Nations, on the other hand, has been exploring the development of a /new/ system of pedagogy and education and the conditions under which obligatory 10-year school attendance could be realized. I would like to add that the chamber meetings are culminations of extensive preparatory work which includes the representatives' probes into all branches of the national economy, consultations with experts, and proceedings in parliamentary committees, where heads of departments give accounts of their supervisory and organizational work.

To sum up, the principles of the Czechoslovak Federation are validated in the activity of the Federal Assembly and are being realized in the active work of our representatives. We aim at making still better use of the possibilities which the federal system gives for securing the further successful development of our country.

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CSO: 2400/66



## BRIEFS

CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLES PARTY CC MEETING--The Czechoslovak Peoples Party Central Committee meeting in Prague today is discussing the topical problems of the life of our society and the current international situation. Zbynek Zalman, its chairman and deputy chairman of the Czech National Council, stressed that the organs, organizations and the entire membership base of the party will continue to share in consistent implementation of the aims of the entire society. He also pointed to the constructive peace policy of the USSR and to the need to create measures to prevent disturbance of the balance of forces in the world. The presidium report noted that the members of the party actively support the program of the 16th CPCZ Congress and the 3d Congress of the Czechoslovak People's Party. The adopted resolution expresses full support for the statement of Yuriy Andropov, the highest Soviet representative, reacting to the deployment of the U.S. missiles in Western Europe. [Text] [LD081608 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 8 Dec 83]

NEW PDRY AMBASSADOR--Bohuslav Chnoupek, minister of foreign affairs, received in Prague yesterday Taha Ahmed Ghanim, the new ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, on the occasion of him assuming his post in Czechoslovakia. During a friendly conversation, they examined mutual and comprehensive cooperation existing between both countries. They also exchanged views on the main problems of the current international situation. [Text] [LD131026 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0100 GMT 13 Dec 83]

DELEGATION TO PORTUGUESE CONGRESS--A CPCZ delegation led by Jindrich Polednik, secretary of the party Central Committee, left for the 10th Communist Party of Portugal Congress. The delegation was seen off by Frantisek Pitra, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and other representatives. [Text] [LD121518 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 12 Dec 83]

CONDOLENCES ON ARTIST'S DEATH--Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and president of the republic, has sent the Ministry of Culture of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the Union of Slovak Creative Artists a letter of condolences in the death of national artist Elena Holeczyova. In the letter, he paid special tribute to the contribution of her art to the development of Czechoslovak creative culture. A letter of condolences on the death of the artist has also been sent by Lubomir Strougal, federal premier. Deepest condolences on the death of Elena Holeczyova have also been expressed by the following members of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee; Jozef



Lenart, first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee; Peter Colotka, Slovak premier; and Viliam Salgovic, member of the Presidium of the CPSL Central Committee and chairman of the Slovak National Council. [Text] [LD100220 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 9 Dec 83]

FOJTIK, HAVLIN ATTEND IDEOLOGY SESSION--Prague, 7 Dec--A statewide Aktiv meeting of secretaries for ideological work in the party's regional and district committees and of the leading staff in the sphere of propaganda and agitation, in the mass communications media, and in education, science and culture was held this Wednesday on the premises of the CPCZ Central Committee's Political College in Prague. Jan Fojtik, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium candidate member and secretary, and Josef Havlin, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, addressed the meeting on the experience gained in the CPSU's ideological work that was acquired by the CPCZ delegation during its study stay in the USSR this October. The deliberations were also attended by Ludovit Pezlar, Presidium member and secretary of the Slovak Communist Party (CPSL) Central Committee; CPCZ Central Committee departments heads Vasil Bejda, Otto Cmolik, and Miroslav Mueller; and by other leading staff of the party, state, and social bodies and organizations. The Aktiv meeting discussed suggestions for utilizing the CPSU's experience in implementing the conclusions of the June session of its Central Committee on the topical issues of ideological and mass-political work under the conditions of the CPCZ's activity. ["(kj)"]-signed report: "Source of Experience in CPSU's Work" [Text] [AU111632 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Dec 83 p 1]

HAMAN ADDRESSES INTERIOR MINISTRY--A working meeting of party and serving functionaries of the Federal Ministry of the Interior took place today in the House of the People in Prague. Josef Haman, candidate member of the presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke at the meeting on the tasks for the further development of the national economy for next year. Vratislav Vajnar, federal minister of the interior, spoke about the main tasks of the National Security Corps for next year in the light of the current international political situation. [Text] [LD082212 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 8 Dec 83]

PAIGC DELEGATION ENDS VISIT--A delegation of the Central Committee of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, headed by Vasco Cabral, Politburo member and secretary of the party's Central Committee, left Czechoslovakia today. Milos Jakes, presidium member and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee saw the delegation off at Ruzyne airport. [Text] [LD081546 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 8 Dec 83]

GREETINGS TO MOROCCAN PARTY--Prague--Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee has sent a message of greetings to the Central Committee of the Moroccan Party of Progress and Socialism on the 40th anniversary of its foundation. The message pointed to the dedicated struggle of the party for the just demands of the Moroccan people, and appreciated the party's struggle and resolution to face the aggressive plans of imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East and the whole world. At the close of the message the Communist Party Central Committee wished Moroccan communists many further successes in their struggle for a happy life of the Moroccan people, for peace and progress in the world in the strengthening of unity of all democratic and progressive forces of Morocco. [Text] [LD021435 Prague CTK in English 1333 GMT 2 Dec 83]

AUSTRIAN TALKS: ONE STEP IN EXPANDING WESTERN DIALOGUE

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 27 Nov 83 p 1

/Unsigned editorial: "Our Point of View--The Conclusion"/

/Text/ The world revolves in a vicious cycle: the increase in international tension thwarts peaceful cooperation among the nations, and the loosening of international ties further intensifies the tension. People with a sober mind know that it is possible to break the vicious cycle, however this hinges on the attitude of the governments. It is rather a bad omen if a nation pursues policies of violence and dictate toward others, since in such cases the bilateral relations become poisoned and new international crises might break out. This is what we witness in Central America where the United States tries to dominate the nations of the area, and this has led to an undeclared war (against Nicaragua), has become evident in the support of antipopular regimes (as in El Salvador) and resulted in the invasion of an independent state (the case of Grenada). In the wake of all this tensions have grown not only in that area but all over the world and the situation has become increasingly dangerous.

Conversely the chances of detente are strengthened if the individual countries try to make the international atmosphere healthier, if they reinforce the links of mutual confidence and convert peaceful coexistence into routine which is advantageous for both partners by developing their bilateral ties. Under these conditions the cooperation of two countries may become the building element of a comprehensive international structure of peace.

Inspired by such intentions, the leaders of our homeland and neighboring Austria have met recently. All the available information seems to prove that Janos Kadar, Gyorgy Lazar and their guest Chancellor Fred Sinowatz were satisfied with their deliberations. In view of the tense political atmosphere they reached agreement on the growing importance of the dialogue between countries with different socioeconomic systems. They also agreed that everything must be done to keep the threat of war at bay, to stabilize international security and to broaden bilateral cooperation which is useful for both countries. Janos Kadar and Fred Sinowatz found it particularly encouraging that the Hungarian-Austrian good neighborly ties have marked a balanced development as a result of mutual good will. In view of this they reaffirmed their intention to further develop bilateral cooperation.

These decisions are rooted in a solid ground. In this respect it is not only the natural advantages of neighborhood which count but also the current results of our cooperation, that may serve as a basis for new ties. It is by no means a negligible achievement that currently 120 cooperation projects are in force between Austrian and Hungarian enterprises, and that more than 1.5 million people participated in the tourist traffic in 1 year. And it is of symbolic significance--Fred Sinowatz deemed it important to emphasize at his press conference--that the Austrian TV has recently broadcast its well-known Double Club commentary program, with historians and journalists participating, the first time from Budapest, rather than from its usual studio in Vienna.

Thus the Hungarian-Austrian dialogue in Budapest was concluded successfully. This is all the more encouraging since the Budapest-Vienna dialogue forms an organic part of the extensive series of talks undertaken by our nation. For, in our experience the sine qua non of cooperation is that we should understand each other. However, to reach this we have to negotiate. The more crowded the agenda of our diplomacy is, the better opportunity we have to do so. Therefore we have recently welcome the meeting of the Hungarian and Belgian foreign ministers, as well as earlier various useful talks with the partners of our nation. And that this is on our side--a conscientious attitude and a well-pondered action--was demonstrated by an article authored by Gyula Horn, director of the foreign relations department of our Party, entitled: "Ready for Dialogue," which appeared in the last week's issue of our periodical, as well as by his TV statement. Horn stated that military tensions can and must be tempered by the continuation of political detente and therefore we have to negotiate in order to find and exploit the chances of agreement.

Thus this is our "magic circle." We enrich the domain of our international relations in an attempt to improve the international atmosphere, since we are sure that under more settled global political conditions our economic, scientific, cultural and other kinds of cooperation is expanding with many countries. Our nation might profit from this from all points of view.

These Hungarian foreign policy endeavors are in full agreement with the foreign policy of our socialist allies. They also try to put in practice what the top-ranking politicians of the Warsaw Pact member states had pointed out in the beginning of 1983, i.e. that they advocate the maintenance and expansion of political dialogue and concrete cooperation between socialist and capitalist countries.

Thus the diplomatic events of the last days and weeks in Budapest confirmed the thesis that there are means of developing relations even in a complex international situation. And it is advantageous to work for this.

12312  
CSO: 2500/105

WALESA IN EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW DISCUSSES NOBEL PEACE PRIZE, CHURCH

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 7 Dec 83 p 16

[Interview with Lech Walesa, translated by Maria Borowska: "Lech Walesa Before Nobel Awards: I Think the Peace Prize Came at the Right Time"]

[Text] "The peace prize has caused me trouble. People come to me and ask me to buy them a tractor or an automobile. But naturally I am happy about the prize. I think it came just at the right time," says Lech Walesa in this exclusive interview which the Solidarity Committee in Brussels had arranged.

[Question] How does it feel to be a Nobel Peace Prize winner?

[Answer] It is not I who is being rewarded but Solidarity's peaceful means of resistance. I say to all my countrymen who have called me on the telephone and congratulated me, "it is your reward, your prize." And I really mean so. I am of course happy like every one else but actually the prize has only given me trouble. I plan to give the money to the fund for the development of our agriculture. The medals, the certificate and such will be in Jasna-Gora church where they will serve everyone. But people, nevertheless, come to me and want me to buy them a tractor or an automobile."

[Question] Did not the prize come a year too late?

[Answer] To tell the truth I had not expected the prize just now. But I think it came at the right time. Partly because we have become a little tired, and the prize has strengthened us. Partly because right now there are opportunities for us to use the prize in the right way. The prize means of course not only money but also increased possibilities for making our ideas known to the world.

[Question] Why have you given the prize to agriculture and not, for example, used it for underground activity?

[Answer] You must understand that underground activity is only one part of our struggle. But we all live off the earth and we must be able to support ourselves. The crisis is becoming greater and no one can cope with it. But if we have food those that sit up there can fight about ministerial posts--we should still do our part.



"Penguin"

[Question] Why have you decided not to go and accept the prize personally?

[Answer] I have asked my wife Danuta and Tadeusz Mazowiecki (Solidarity's adviser) to go there with my oldest son. I did so for two reasons. Dressed up in a tuxedo during the festivities, I would feel like a penguin at the same time remembering that my comrades--my fellow prize winners--are sitting in jail. In addition, there is the risk that I would not be allowed to return. A Walesa abroad is a nicer person for the authorities than a Walesa here at home.

[Question] Your activity is compared with that of Gandhi. What do you think about that?

[Answer] I think that Gandhi was in a better geopolitical situation.

[Question] Is there any difference between your view of the situation and that of the TKK (Solidarity's provisional coordination commission)?

[Answer] I don't think that there are any great differences, which does not mean that we agree on everything. There are differences of opinion, and there should be. But I repeat: there are not any basic differences. When you come down to it, we are fighting for the same thing although with different methods. You should understand that there must be differences of a tactical nature. When you work underground like TKK, you can't be soft. He who is carrying on a determined struggle must do it in a determined manner.

[Question] You are still the obvious leader of Solidarity. But one hears more and more frequently during demonstrations the name Bujak. What impression does that make on you?

[Answer] Such people have played a tremendous role. It was they who had to organize resistance when I was interned. That is the basis for their great authority. This applies not only to Bujak who is working underground but also Frasnyniuk who is in jail. I am not irreplaceable, and I would actually like someone at last to replace me. Solidarity was to have held its second congress this year. They are supposed to be held every other year. At such a congress a successor would have appeared, not only to me but to Zbigniew Bujak and Wladystaw Frasnyniuk. These eventual successors are not yet apparent but they are active.

Great Support

[Question] You have maintained that there are more supporters today than during Solidarity's best period. Does that mean that there are more people than before hostile to the regime?

[Answer] I have never talked about 'enemies.' I have never expressed myself in that way. But it is apparent that today more people support us than even during our best times. But you have to be able to detect that. This is not apparent so clearly from the demonstrations. Our people are politically sophisticated. People know that under present conditions--when we only use peaceful means of protest while our opponents use billy-clubs and prisons--demonstrations are not very effective. We must be able to turn from the streets to the work places and be active there.

[Question] What is your relationship to the Church? Do you get advice from the Church?

[Answer] The Church is eternal and I want it to remain so. It is not the Church's task to be responsible for current political matters. But every one who listens to the Church can obtain advice from the Church. Even those who come to church to listen in 'the line of duty'... The Church does not say: Do this or that. The Church talks about truth and dignity. That's sufficient.

[Question] How would you describe the Church's roll in Poland today after Solidarity has been banned?

[Answer] My relationship to the church has not changed. But the Church's social responsibilities have increased. The Church must assume the responsibility for helping those interned, those arrested and all who need help. The Church has done so very well. And for that matter it continues to do so.

[Question] Have there been times in your life when you have considered withdrawing from continued activity?

[Answer] I have been ready to withdraw from the very beginning of Solidarity. I have often talked about it. But now in the present situation I can not do so.

[Question] What do you expect from the West today?

[Answer] Patience. Above all patience, and to remember that we here are doing something which is not only important for ourselves. We are propagandists for peaceful methods in the struggle for our objectives. Our ideals apply not only to Poland. They should be the basis for the development of the international solidarity.

Ashamed

[Question] What do you think about the imminent trials of members of Solidarity's National Commission and the Committee for Social Self Defense, KOR?

[Answer] I am ashamed that such things are taking place in my country. Unfortunatley we do not yet have any possibilities for effectively preventing the best of us being condemned and imprisoned. Really, they



are some of our best people, and everything should be done to resist this situation. The charges against the seven members of the National Commission and the experts from KOR have nothing to do with law. It's political revenge. It involves splitting us. Of course there were differences of opinion between me and Rulewski or Kuron. But I was chairman of the National Commission. To talk about any extremist wing within Solidarity is propagandistic nonsense. Individual views are taken out of context and put together so that it looks like they want to overturn the whole structure of society. You can do that with anything. We have worked together--so if any one considers them guilty, I am also.

[Question] What is Solidarity today?

[Answer] The values and the ideals we have served and are serving today. The name 'Solidarity' best expresses what we have done and what we want to do.

6893

CSO: 3650/69

## SPEECH PRESENTED DURING 13TH PZPR PLENUM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 246, 17 Oct 83 p 4

[Speech by Jerzy Maniawski, Central Committee member, first secretary of PZPR Plant Committee at Tarnow Nitrate Works]

[Text] At the present plenum, one which we know has been long awaited by the party and by, I am convinced, that part of society which thinks about and cares about the future development of the nation, we are going to address a series of fundamental questions, for example: our stance toward other ideologies, the progress of building socialism in Poland, the agricultural question, the relationship with the private sector, and, that which is especially important, the definition of a new party role, one responsive to the present phase of developing productive strengths and consciousness for the social formula of the leading role of the party. These are fundamental questions. But the present plenary session does not have the difficult task of defining new positions toward all these matters, since this already is contained in the deliberations of the Ninth Congress and has been developed in the course of 12 Central Committee plenary meetings which have occurred since the congress.

Addressing these fundamental matters contained in the report by the Politburo, I fully support the assessments contained therein and the position taken on these most important questions. I also support the suggestion that our important ideological-program document, which is the declaration "What are we fighting for, where are we going?", should be given to a national party conference for assessment since it encompasses such a great range of matters.

I would like to express full support for the contents of the basic documents which concern our cadre policy and the decision to conduct a reports-elections campaign.

It seems proper for the present plenum to take up, together with the other problems, the problems which had and will continue to have a deciding influence on the present state of social consciousness and the views of the citizens of our nation. I would like it to yield an answer to the basic question of how and what to do to initiate the proper gradual changes, essential at the current phase, in the social consciousness, their execution being one

of the chief conditions for overcoming the present moral crisis, one of the items that will decide the emergence from the economic crisis. This, as we all know, is the basic condition for peace, social order, and authentic social acceptance of socialism.

Posing the question as to the source of the undesirable present views and the present state of social consciousness, it must be said honestly that at the base are many omissions and errors in the ideological sphere, and various false slogans from the past, of the type: "a rich citizen, a rich nation," etc. Also responsible is the cult of the excessive possession of material goods which developed in the 1970's, the setting up of oneself at any cost, living above one's means, even on credit. A large part was played as well by the, conscious or not, popularization of examples foreign to our system, the depreciation of the worth of honest work, the acceptance of a showy life style at the cost of society, and the many examples of easy life without work, the examples of corruption or abuse.

The openness to the West in the last decade created new conditions to deepen the situation. Just as at the contact point between the socialized and the private sectors there exists an arena for abuse, so it is at the contact point between the socialist and capitalist economies where a new arena for abuse and even scandal was created. Often dishonest contacts, the drawing of personal benefits, travel around the world and the partaking of its blandishments at government expense, the cult of middle class and bourgeois life style--all that which is often promoted and supported by external and internal political opponents, while the ideological front has been neglected--has combined into the view and philosophy of "have." To have at any cost, without scruples, no matter at whose expense, often no one's--that is, the government's--but best to have for free.

One must admit that we have not done much, even lately, to condemn this philosophy and put an end to its foundations. It is also true that such occurrences have escalated because the economic crisis favors, through events, the speculators, the manipulators, hustlers and various groups of social oppression. It favors this philosophy.

We have advanced far in the development of the social care functions of a socialistic nation. We have built a roof on the socialist house, but we have not completed all the walls, and here and there we lack part of the foundation. Hustlers and loafers have learned to exploit, without paying any attention to the government's difficulties, the laws and social benefits. The streets, private places of construction, coffeehouses, and even beer stands, are swarming with youthful retirees and pensioners, and even those who during working hours should be at their desks and workbenches, persons on "sick leave." It is the fashion to disdain hard, honest work.

It is worthwhile to ask oneself a question. Are our laws, our work codes, various regulations and rules which create the conditions for an easy life without work, giving privileges, jealously exploited by hustlers, which create the conditions whereby in Poland everything is profitable except honest work, not in need of analysis and revision? I am convinced that the

answer is yes. The sooner this is done the better. Such statements are more and more often encountered at meetings and gatherings in the workplaces as a condition for ending the crisis.

Often, also, there is criticism of the present social care formula and the practical execution of the social care function by the government. This problem must be solved thoughtfully and completely. Social care and the aid given by a socialist government should and must benefit only those who, because of ill fortune or bad health, have found themselves in need, not hustlers and loafers. This is a matter for speedy resolution by the government and must be settled as soon as possible and completely in the name of social justice. This will have an enormous positive effect on the desired changes in the views and positions toward work.

Another matter. The scandalously high value associated with the dollar has created an errant cult of jobs outside the country and disdain for work inside our borders. How can one compare the hard work of a coal miner or a steel worker, even though it is relatively well paid, with the incomes of those often unqualified blockheads working outside the country, whose incomes, thanks to the astronomical black market exchange on foreign currency, are in the millions of zlotys for a few months' work. Just as in pre-war Poland work, and I'm not speaking about work in nationalized industry, was the pinnacle of one's dreams, so now is the trip to work abroad, to work in a Polonia enterprise, or a private enterprise.

The greater majority of the working class employed in key industries, and even in budgetary units, is plagued by feelings of unfairness and social injustice. If to this is added the still occurring, despite the reforms, pay on shift basis, pay for position worked and not for actual work and its results, then there is a lack of social respect for those doing honest work. There even are some resolutions in the financial system of the economic reform which give preference to those who have worked badly in the previous period, for example in Council of Ministers Resolution No 186. This should give a part of the answer to the question about the causes of the current state of social awareness, a part of the answer as to why the philosophy of "to have" has been accepted and rules.

In the short period following 13 December 1981 much was done in the regulatory sector to counteract this philosophy. From many podiums words of contempt were heaped upon the manifestations of social pathology and other negative signs. But, still, practical implementation is sparse. Even though many voices were raised in the party, nothing was done to counteract the black market value of the dollar and too little was done to improve pay for honest work.

A series of police actions has caused the elimination of many visible abuses, speculations, and pathological manifestations. The effects would have been better, however, had they found widespread social support, for then the desire for an easy life, for setting oneself up as rapidly as possible and at any price, would be socially rejected.



What can be done to achieve this goal? I know I will not say anything revealing, but I believe that it is necessary to describe, to tell and repeat, what the model of the socialist views is, which philosophy is the only one that has the right to exist in a socialist state. What examples are we as a party going to support in social policy, as well as in cadre policy? These are the examples and values which are represented in the greater majority of good working people, the authentic working class. This is the philosophy of a forthright approach to work, honesty, and patriotism.

I call your attention, comrades, to those who were the loudest in detracting socialism and the party. Who was on the front lines in the battle against the socialist nation? Chiefly, those were people for whom Peoples' Poland had created the best conditions, those who rarely saw real work. Those who led the best lives. Among them were even ambassadors, political Santa Clauses or their offspring. There was the group of the newly rich, and even a part of the creative and cultural intelligentsia. These people, in the recent past, lived easily in marked difference to honest working people, for whom it was and still is very difficult. But in spite of this their views are completely different.

To them, then, the honest working people, our party must say, and keep the promise, that the time of disparity between the basic canons of Marxist-Leninist ideology, politics, and economics belongs to the past. If we wish to universalize positive views then we must redeclare and prove in daily practice that there will be no divergence from the reforms in the political, economic, and social sphere which were adopted at the Ninth Congress, since it is conditional on the building of new social relations and new views, constructive views, a stance of "to be" rather than "to have."

The working class, working people, people of science, the intelligentsia, but especially the younger generation, must know that we will give preference to these views. Presently it is not enough merely to declare it; it must be done in practice through the consistent realization of the reform line.

The test which is most verifiable as to the credibility of our reform goals is consistency in implementing the economic reform, the establishment and defense of self-management in the workplaces, cities, and settlements. Another extremely important test is the stance of the party and its leadership to positions that are counter to our line, to socialist morality, and our ethical stance. Also important is the behavior of the persons who have been entrusted with leadership in various areas of social, economic, and political life. We have had some success in this area, especially at the highest levels of leadership. But, comrades, this is not a universal manifestation, other comrades have mentioned it already. We are already seeing a return to the old way of administering, to absolute and arrogant views. I'd like to say that they are more elegantly arrogant than before.

If we would take the time to do a thorough analysis of the replies to the many postulates and conclusions of the Central Committee's members and those

of the other citizens at various meetings of the Central Committee commissions, then in many of them we would notice veiled arrogance, pleasant explanations, that only those who are criticized are right, that the height of wisdom and unerring judgment is here in Warsaw in the offices of the various public ministries and administrative buildings. We cannot disregard these manifestations. I believe that the new principles for the party cadre policy and their implementation will put an end to this dangerous manifestation.

Certain replies and conclusions to our postulates and the disregard or the lack of a decisive reaction now could constitute a basis for withdrawing the party recommendation. Therefore, it would be well to make several exemplary decisions.

At the present stage of development in social consciousness there is no way of imagining a different concept of socialism developing in Poland than that which was outlined by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress; tendencies to move away from this line and its practical realization which are appearing here and there, even at the highest levels of the administration, are grist for the mills of the opposition and various enemies of socialism. There are those who believe that the working class and society have not matured to the level of being capable of guiding their own affairs. There appears to be a longing for a system of directives, attempts to undermine or even to ridicule or compromise the economic reform. Often behind these voices stand narrow private and group interests. There stands, one known to us all by his deeds and results, comrade "volunteer."

Why have these timid attempts by opponents of the reform line in economic, social, and political matters spread so rapidly through the work forces and society? Because our political opponent grabs them, instantly turns this needle into a pitchfork, spreads the rumor, and then reaps disbelief in the veracity of our goals. I believe that the weight of the political struggle is moving in that direction.

Therefore, at the ideological plenum the voice of the highest party echelon must be the strongest to form a barrier against all these speculations. Because too many individuals and groups, often with legitimate intentions, have set a fire under the kettle of opposition without always recognizing the consequences.

Success in the realization of the reform line and the struggle with the opponents of socialism, the emergence from the present economic difficulties and the breaking of the social impasse depend in great measure on the politics of compromise. This is an extremely difficult undertaking, considering the destruction in the field of social consciousness, the result of errors committed during the building of socialism, but chiefly due to the unparalleled aggression by the forces opposed to socialism. If we were only concerned with compromise, then it seems that we have chosen a minimal goal.

Today, in light of the present difficulties, in light of the threat not only to our existence, but chiefly in the face of a threat to peace such as has



not been seen for several decades, and even the threat to the existence of the world, the causes of which are the aggressive, erroneous policies of confrontation which are practiced by the international right under the leadership of the present American administration, this would hardly be sufficient. We must not only speak about compromise, because various understandings can be reached, but we must speak about the cooperation of all honest people in standing up against the manifestations of social pathology, in shaping examples and desirable views in the defense of the vital interests of Poland and its people in the world, but chiefly in the defense of peace, which is threatened as never before.

If we agree to reach for the chief goal, which is the common undertaking for all true Poles, it will be a long and difficult process, but one which I think can be accelerated through the bringing together of the separate groups of people with differing views and even ideologies, in the accomplishment of small things which allow for activity and include the attainment of the goals of the smaller groups. I am thinking here about cooperation in the implementation of economic reform, joint rule in the workplace, the realization and working out of new technical solutions, in technical progress, in spreading culture, in sport, recreation and the organization of social relaxation, and even in social acts that would benefit the community. In every person there is the desire to be somebody, to fulfill oneself and even impress those around him by his ability, knowledge, etc. Many people would gladly take advantage of such an opportunity to join again into normal life and return from imminent or eventual emigration. Many persons await this chance. Often these are above average people who have gone far, too far, so that they eventually found themselves in the ranks of the definite enemies of socialism and opponents of socialism. In majority these are young people. I believe that it is the duty of our party decisively to say "enough" to the opponents of socialism, to find ways and means to allow them to come out without losing face, without a broken spine, from the real or self-imposed isolation in which they have found themselves, those who wish to return to a normal active and constructive life. The move from destruction to construction is an extremely difficult thing.

Especially when we consider our national traits, such as the overabundance of ambition, a feeling of one's own honor, devotion to one's word, faithfulness to slogans and symbols, stubbornness, false shame and other unmentionable traits or faults, if one prefers, and the rights of youth. Let us look then at these people and their actions with communist humanism. We, the party members, can understand more easily than anyone else their collective and individual dramas. But we had the courage to admit our mistakes and from these mistakes we drew conclusions, and are still drawing them, both in theory and in practice. Not everyone is able or wishes to do this. It is difficult to expect it, especially from the young.

At the present plenary meeting we have talked about and will talk about exemplary ideas, moral stance, patriotism, self-sacrifice, and socialist morality. We are looking for an example of citizenship and patriotism. We have such examples within arm's reach, within the reach of every citizen.

These examples, which have proven themselves in the recent period, a tragic one for the nation, are our comrades in uniform. It was they who at the most difficult moment for the nation proved that there are views that will always have the approval of the greater part of society, that such traits as non-compromise, honesty, loyalty to ideals, forthrightness in duty to the fatherland are from the moral and ethical point of view still highly valued. Our party and our society owes a great debt to the army of comrades in uniform for the defense of their fatherland's sovereignty. We meet today at a plenary session of the Central Committee for the first time since the end of martial law. Thousands of our comrades in uniform, soldiers of the Polish People's Army, have departed from the difficult functions of military commissars and other responsible posts. Many have moved into responsible positions in the government administration and the party consistently to realize its line, which was drawn up by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress. I am convinced that this present plenary gathering of the Central Committee is the correct time to express the very highest regard and thanks for what they have done for us and continue to do in the defense and consolidation of socialism in Poland. It is appropriate that our discussions are timed to coincide with the great moment which is the 40th anniversary of the call for and the establishment of the Polish People's Army, the armed forces of our socialist fatherland. Therefore, I would like to include a suitable entry on this important matter in the proceedings of the 13th plenary session.

12411

CSO: 2600/235

## ACTIVITIES OF PLENUM COMMISSIONS OUTLINED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 21, 12 Oct 83 p 2

/Article by A. W./

/Text/ The CC /Central Committee/ problem commissions focus their attention primarily on the issues connected with the range of their interests and related to particular segments of realities. It is worthwhile, however, to note that they also participate in tasks of a wider nature. Its most recent example is the active participation of nine commissions in preparations for the plenary session on ideological subjects of both the already held 12th and the upcoming 13th CC Plenums.

As was only natural, the leading role here was performed by the Ideological Commission, which was instructed by the CC Politburo to handle the current evaluation of preparations and drafts of documents for the plenum. Moreover, the Politburo enjoined that a particular part in preparations be taken by four other commissions. The Intraparty Affairs Commission was obligated to evaluate the state of the party in political and organizational terms, the Commission for Science and Education--to analyze conclusions drawn from a discussion on the fulfillment of educational functions by schools and colleges, and the Cultural Commission--to analyze conclusions from the discussion on the fulfillment of ideological and educational functions in the domain of culture. Finally, the Youth Commission was to appraise ideological-educational tasks resulting from the decision of the Ninth CC Plenum. Furthermore, the subject-oriented meetings connected with ideological problems have organized in the current year four other commissions. The International Commission at a session held jointly with the Ideological Commission discussed the results of the Moscow Conference of the secretaries for ideological and international matters of the fraternal parties. The Women's Commission discussed the problems of political and educational work among women carried out by the women's organizations. The Maritime Commission discussed the programmatic assumptions and conditions of the maritime education of society. Finally, the Commission for Law and Order analyzed matters of the education and self-education system and the enhancement of sociopolitical knowledge of the workers in public prosecutor offices and of judges.

The earliest, already in December of the past year, preparations for the ideological plenum of the CC were begun by the Ideological Commission. Chairmen of ideological commissions of all the KW's /voivodship committees/ took part in

its work. On its initiative consultations were also carried out on the programmatic assumptions of the plenum. On one hand, consultations encompassed the CC members and candidate members, and on the other hand, discussions were carried out in the area itself. In the course of all this work attention was focused in particular on programmatic assumptions of the party ideological and propaganda activity in the large industry worker-class environment. Much attention was also devoted to a development and strengthening of PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/ and to the international conditions of ideological activity.

The Intraparty Affairs Commission of the CC focused its attention in the first place on an evaluation of the party political and ideological situation with special consideration given to the situation in the party organizations operating in the worker environment of large-scale industries. In the analyses use was made of the whole accomplishment of the reporting campaign and the results of investigations carried out in party organizations of the biggest workplaces, as well as the yield of the many working visits of the commission members with plant party organizations. The aim of these studies was primarily a more thorough definition of the ways to strengthen the party in large-scale workplaces.

The CC Commission for Science and Education devoted most of its attention to the situation in education, both to the critical state of the material base and to the sociopolitical situation among teachers and to education of the teacher cadres. The result of this was among others a better definition of the role and tasks of the POP /primary party organization/ in schools and educational-upbringing units. The CC Cultural Commission concentrated its participation in the preparations for the ideological plenum primarily on problems of the participation in the culture of the worker and peasant communities as well as children and youth.

The CC Youth Commission worked primarily on the basis of results of conversations and discussions of its members carried out in the workplaces, schools and colleges with youth, activists of youth organizations and party workers.

In sum, there unfolds here a method for the work of the CC problem commissions, whose essence is primarily reaching for life's realities, accumulation and analysis of the greatest possible number of experiences from the area of the party as a whole. There is no need to enlarge upon how much this enriches the preparations for plenary sessions of the Central Committee. No doubt this is an important element of the new style of work of the central authorities and the whole party.

1015

CSO: 2600/192

REPORTS-ELECTIONS MEETINGS INCORPORATE 13TH PLENUM RESOLUTIONS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 258, 31 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] During the reports-elections meetings of the division and basic party organizations, which are held all over the country, quite often on their agenda are topics that were inspired by the resolutions of the PZPR Central Committee's 13th Plenary Meeting.

For party people, ideological deliberations and discussion on the present shape of the PZPR are as significant as is linkage of the plenary meeting's agenda to the problems of the domain of working people. This finds its expression in the accounts of our correspondents.

Befama: Perfecting Its Forms of Activity

The membership of the branch party organization No 11 of the Befama Bielsko Textile Machine Works includes employees of many departments, people with different professions and specializations. Hence, the discussion during the reports-elections meeting of this organization contained few technological-organizational and economic matters; it was concentrated mainly on the problems of perfecting intraparty work. In many instances those voices were critical.

A particularly large number of comments and reservations were evoked--as was also stressed in the report on the activity of the branch party organization--by the lack of a decisive reaction by the plant committee to some suggestions that were directed there by the activists of the branch party organizations. The activity of party groups was also criticized. In the view of one of the workers it recently boiled down almost exclusively to collecting dues and passing on announcements about meetings. On the other hand, party meetings were neglected, and the functioning of the plant information system leaves also much to be desired.

In the context of 13th Plenary Meeting, a considerable part of discussion was devoted to the proper attitude of party members, particularly those who hold more responsible positions, among others, in supervision.



Too often still--it used to be bitterly stated--one encounters in those circles examples of disdain for the worker, as well as attempts, which are very harmful for the party, at introducing an artificial division between those "responsible for everything" who rule, and "those being ruled" who are not responsible for anything, who, on the contrary, are always ready to criticize decisions of the authorities. One should decisively fight such attitudes.

Sociomaterial matters of the workforce were also raised during the discussion.

#### Koszalin Construction Combine: More Open Meetings

There are three branch party organizations in the Koszalin Construction Combine, where reports-elections meetings were already held.

Carpenter Eugeniusz Bigniewski, during the discussion at the branch party organizations of the basic production departments, raised the problem of human relations in the combine, which do not always seem proper. Mieczyslaw Kopec, a plasterer, talked of party discipline. "In the resolutions which we vote on," he maintained, "we promise more than we are able to execute. This does not favor the strengthening of the credibility of our branch party organization or of the party as a whole. Let us plan in a more modest way, but let us implement what we have decided."

"We have concluded that matters which disturb the employee masses should be explained faster by us," says Wacław Narkiewicz, newly elected first secretary of the branch party organization. "Much controversy is caused, for instance, by work of the department of production preparation, on which depend the organization of work at the construction sites, proper supplies of materials, etc. Not everybody knows what it is all about. This is why we decided to prepare a special meeting of our branch party organization devoted to this topic, to which we invited also our nonparty colleagues. Generally speaking, I think that we need more open meetings of our organization. I think that we will turn over some of the controversial matters to trade unions or to the workers' council. Cooperation with those bodies of workers' democracy should bring results that are better and more tangible for all the employees."

"I attended all the reports-elections meetings of the branch party organizations," says the first secretary of the PZPR Plant Committee, Eugeniusz Filipczyk. "I consider them to be party's most important links among the workforce, and they should be representatives of the party's just interests. We party members should see that our voice is counted. I want to raise this matter as one of the most important ones also at the reports-elections meeting of our whole basic party organization. The chances for this are good, because we have a good workers' council and an active trade union. Many workers who are party members are active there."

9644

CSO: 2600/223

DAILY COMMENTS ON 13TH PLENUM RESOLUTION ON CULTURE

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish No 256, 28 Oct 83 p 4

[Article by Michal Misiorny: "Politics and Culture. After the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee"]

[Text] Considerations, conclusions and estimates concerning the socialist system of values and the problem of making the system true in the everyday practice of the party's activity became one of the main topics of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. The same contents can be found in the Politburo's report and in the discussion, as well as in the plenum's resolution.

The disparity between words and deeds, between the socialist ideal and the often arbitrary practice by the party in performing its leading role, the disparity that got deeper and deeper in past years, became one of the most important sources of the growing crisis of social awareness. The present ideological and moral losses, visible in various milieus, are a symptom of this crisis.

When considering today the importance of the 13th Plenum for practical cultural policy, this general observation concerning the reality of the socialist system of values becomes inescapable. The socialist system of values must become once more a standard for each day and the everyday work of each individual party member because only in this way--by making itself to some extent true within the matter of life--will the system of values become the foundation for broadly understood socialist culture. For culture does not mean only going to a theater or reading an interesting book. This culture begins to get its shape and socialist identity by everyday habits and behavior, ways of acting, our conception and approved patterns of living.

We are talking at present often--and rightly--in the party about the need for going back to the sources. One of the important and expected returns is a reaffirmation of the norms of the socialist workers' axiology as a basic indicator for social practice in the broad understanding of this term.

In the cultural policy of the party, this return to the sources will consist in performing the program that derives from basic values. This program was

formulated during the Ninth Extraordinary Congress and the resolution of the 13th Plenum recalls at present its basic problems. In the resolution the aims of the cultural policy which were pointed out on the base of estimates of the most important deficiencies in the past decade are stressed.

The thing is, first of all, to extend access to culture to the largest social circles, mainly workers and peasants. It is also important to make this bridging of the distance between the works and goods of artistic culture and the mass receiver the duty not only of the state, but also of trade unions, workers self-government, social and youth organizations, creative unions. Without a development of various forms of participation in culture, without filling the still numerous "blanks," it will be impossible to talk about progress in the democratization of cultural life or about a new cultural audience and its specific social demand.

The second goal of cultural policy singled out in the resolution of the 13th Plenum relates to the creation of conditions for generating and presenting to society such works and values which, through their ideological and artistic message, develop the national culture and form the socialist social awareness. It is a suggestion for long-term and patient activities. Remarkable works cannot be created from day to day. There also exist complicated and differentiated relations between the state of social awareness and the artist's awareness. The thing is that the party, always advocating, as far as possible, an open cultural policy, wanting to create the best possible working conditions for creative artists who represent various esthetic and philosophical orientations, at the same time reserves the right to use a policy of special preference for works that support the socialist changes in mass awareness, and a policy of restriction towards works that can strike at the superior interests of the socialist state.

And, finally, the third goal singled out in the resolution refers to the exchange with the world. Here is accentuated the need to eliminate the distinct one-sidedness that has been for many years characteristic of our foreign policy, and this means the need to get acquainted in a broader and deeper way than so far with the achievements of socialist countries' culture, but to stay, of course, open to all worldwide valuable cultural goods.

The shock which shook Polish society during the years 1980-1982 has left particularly deep and often dramatic cracks in the milieus of the creative intelligentsia. And in these milieus there often still resounds the word "no." But--and this has to be stressed--not every "no" has the same meaning, not everyone who says "no" is a political opponent of socialism. But there exists in this milieu a lot of disorientation, resentment and bitterness. Time and wise, patient endurance, combined with the right policy, are needed to pierce through these fissures of despair and resistance with the awareness that it is possible and necessary to communicate in the process of creative work aimed for the benefit of Polish culture and Polish society. And it can be assumed, therefore, that the following words in the Politburo's report were expected by not a few creative artists:

"The best traditions of the Polish intelligentsia were to think in categories of Poland and social progress. It is true that Poland has become weak in

recent years. The world will not wait for us. Not a few fields are endangered by regression. This fact gives us the full moral right to ask: Is it not time to involve all of our knowledge and energy to the cause of national rebirth and socialist renewal?"

And furthermore:

"The party is characterized by respect for creative intellectual activity, for progress in science and technology, education and culture that are necessary to the nation. The framework of the scientific and cultural policy is wide. The aim of this policy is not to impose uniformity, but to support the creative activeness which opens new horizons and enriches the life of the socialist society.

"This is the approach of our party and the collaborating forces, addressed to the Polish intelligentsia. We are ready to discuss it. We are open to initiatives, to criticism derived from constructive motives. We reject and will fight against everything that is obscurantist, prejudicial and anti-socialist. Party activists, committees and organizations should meet the intelligentsia, discuss frankly and exchange direct thoughts. There will never be too many endeavors to regain and attract people for a just cause."

The appeal to representatives of the creative intelligentsia contained in the report of the 13th Plenum is not synonymous with closing our eyes to the realities of the political struggle. The domain of culture does not have to be an area for confrontation, but it became so--not of our party's will. The confrontation has been imposed upon us. Because of the fiasco of their other calculations, some of the Western circles attach now considerable hopes to the political contestation of artists. The future shall prove how true these hopes are.

The party sets against the hopes of its opponents a realistic program for understanding. Work and creative effort aimed for the benefit of society and culture are the cement of this program. The simple principle of the understanding was characterized by Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski in his closing speech during the 13th Plenum:

"We are conducting and will continue a permanent struggle with the enemy, a polemic with alien ideas. There are Poles with whom we do not intend to 'find a common language.' There will be no negotiations with the enemy, with the proteges of imperialist subversion. But we reach out our hand, we provide the chance to walk out from the dead-end alley 'keeping their face' to those who politically have lost their way, not seldom in good faith, in emotion or bitterness. We are aiming continuously and sincerely at rebuilding the bridges which make it easier for people to come over to our side, the side of socialism."

12376

CSO: 2600/231



## IDEOLOGY PRONOUNCED MAIN TOPIC OF 13TH PLENUM

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish No 252, 24 Oct 83 pp 3, 5

[Article by Ryszard Kondrat: "Nearer to Life--Nearer to the People"]

[Text] "Reestablishing ties between the party and its class, the working class, regaining its trust in us is of the utmost importance. Day after day, step by step, we must eliminate the distance that has developed between the party and a segment of the labor community. This can be accomplished in only one way. The people should feel that the party is vital to their existence, that it is close to them, that it is the most important support in the struggle with difficulties and anguish, with stagnation and inertia, with all sorts of evils, stressing that the program principles all have as their goal only the success of the country in mind." (Excerpt from the speech of W. Jaruzelski at the PZPR's 13th Central Committee Plenum).

The purpose of the PZPR Central Committee's 13th Plenum can be described as a need for the establishment of ideological-theoretical awareness, which would be the source to draw upon to increase the party's strength and, at the same time, as the needed stimulus for achievements in which its true interpretation will translate into activities reflecting its basic meaning. As a matter of fact, what is ideology? What importance does ideological work have in socio-political life?

These questions are rarely asked by the average citizen absorbed in the daily pursuit of his occupation, or by the farmer resolving daily problems. Most often, ideology appears to be a specialized creation of politicians, or else as an abstract theoretical concept. In the meantime, as we observe the world and society, the majority of our actions are the result of ideological motives. Every ideology has a reference to historically structured conditions. Evaluated through its prisms are the prevailing contingencies, as well as efforts of individual forces of society and of individual people.

The nearly 40-year period of socialist development in our country proves how strongly it is identified not only with changes in the socioeconomic area,



but also in society's awareness. In spite of campaigns against everything that is socialist, political adversaries were unable to eradicate from the minds of the people the need for equality, justice, responsible governing, respect for democratic principles of coexistence, personal dignity and respect for labor, all of which are found in socialism. These values were mainly expressions of the labor class from whom they emanated and were formulated on the principles of ideology, eventually becoming the program of the party.

These points were reconfirmed at PZPR Central Committee's 13th Plenum, with an emphasis on the fact that the reestablishment of ties with the labor class and people of labor is of prime importance. That is why we need the removal of the separation that formed some time ago between the party and a segment of workers, as was pointed out by General Jaruzelski: "The party is their life's necessity. it is close to them, it is the most reliable support in its struggles with complaints, sluggishness and stagnation, with all signs of program deficiencies, that the programs which it projects are designed solely for the good of the people."

In reality, these basic goals are a composite of an unusually broad field of issues that were brought up in the referendum of the Politburo and discussions during the 13th Plenum. We will try to bring attention to their feasibility and practicality in application from the public's point of view.

First of all, restated at the plenum was the necessity for practical realizations of the ideological socialist principles at all echelons and party organizations.

It was emphasized that Marxism-Leninism determines party activities. Attention was brought to the fact that it is the duty of the party staff not only to have theoretical knowledge, but that this knowledge has to be confirmed through practical application. Mentioned also in this context were the responsibilities of the ideological front and the necessity for strengthening the party's role of leadership in particular centers, but especially among working crews and the young people. Attention was focused on the advisability of utilizing not only the experiences of the working masses, but also the party's principles of political propagation.

At the plenum, Gen W. Jaruzelski stated: "If the party ignores the practical experiences of the workers and in general the other groups of working people, then it ceases to be a party of the masses and falls prey to bureaucracy. If it flows with the tide it becomes the tool of demography and submits to the erosion of ideology." From this, the role and assignments of factory party organizations increase since they are responsible for the quality of their members' performance in offices of self-government, in trade unions, youth organizations and citizens of society.

The second point. The party must continue to wage war against all public wrongdoing which may appear in public life.

On the one hand, the party must oppose and eliminate signs of bureaucracy, haughtiness and callousness which are still evident in some parts of national and economic administrations. On the other hand, it must condemn manifestations of poor management, extravagance, disrespect for public property, the practice of breaking social discipline, furthering one's private interests and favoritism. Third in importance is the party's inculcation of consistent economic reform as well as opposition to distortions of basic accomplishments.

The reform is to serve as an improvement for the economy, promote initiative, shorten the time and increase the tempo for an emergence from the crisis. This obligates us to advance the best and most productive people, recommend technical and organizational improvements, emphasize the necessity for economical orientation, not only in terms of our own place of employment, but on a national scale.

Fourth in order: The party with consistency must follow the dictates of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR, the line to national understanding based on class alliances.

This means that the primary goals for agreement are joint efforts for basic national and political principles, but at the same time not glossing over class distinction and world opinion. In this context the party will continue to create suitable conditions for those who have strayed from the fold to return to reason, but at the same time will continue an unending battle with political adversaries, with the enemies of socialism.

In undertaking these activities, as was pointed out at the 13th Plenum, the party will strengthen unity within its ranks, improve the knowledge of its members to acquaint them with complicated sociopolitical problems occurring in our country and in the modern world.

Referring to the weakened activity of the party, the first secretary of the Central Committee stated: "We will have reasons to be pleased with the ideological condition of our party when, as during the first years of the Polish People's Republic, party members speak in a plain unsophisticated language, when again they talk in the manner of the working people: What are we living for? Whom should we trust? What are our goals? What are we fighting for?"

This statement carries a serious stipulation which requires the improvement of ideological efforts, making it the party's everyday language in both national administration and social organizations. This language may be helpful toward a mutual understanding and for coordinating matters of the greatest importance to the nation and public. Being the expression of collective wisdom, it can improve our knowledge about realities and, transformed into an active program, may have an influence in hastening the fruition of the fundamental values of socialistic ideology.

Ideology, then, not only has a value in itself, but also carries a definite responsibility in practice. It is not only a question of faith, but mainly

one of knowledge and resulting convictions and attitudes of the people, which are manifested in tangible conditions at all levels of human activity. This particularly concerns the capability to energetically establish the authenticated gains of socialism and its humanistic values into everyday practice, political, social and economic endeavors, into its environment, activities of national structures and areas of employment. This is an ongoing battle with those who see nothing but evil in socialism, criticize and attempt to overturn the system's basic principles, sow the seed of nihilism, opposition and distrust into society's operations.

The 13th Plenum confirmed once again that a decided battle is still raging on all fronts for the state of social awareness.

This, then, is a gauge to determine the progress made in establishing democratic rules, law and order, social justice and implementation of the program for socialist renewal prescribed by the Ninth Congress. It also becomes a measure for the effectiveness of ideological reactions by the party as a whole and its individual members. This provides for it a foundation for the reestablishment of internal strength and social authority.

As was stressed at the plenum, the renewal of socialism is understood not only to be a composite of politically motivated assumptions, not only the sum total of institutionally legal reforms, but primarily the level of comparison for changes that can be observed within close proximity, the sociomoralistic attitudes presented for everyday use by party members and the consistent battle with all indications of wrongdoing. In connection with this, as stated by General Jaruzelski: "We have to give a daily account of the manner in which we are overcoming the crisis, steps we are taking in the revitalization and reformation of the individual aspects of life. We know that we have accomplished much, but definitely we have not done everything we should have."

The present time demands that we do as much as possible.

12306

CSO: 2600/220

SOCIOLOGIST EXAMINES RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN JUSTICE, PRODUCTIVITY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish No 257, 29-30 Oct 83 p 3

[Interview with Professor Dr Hab Kazimierz Doktor, director of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of the Polish Academy of Sciences, by Alicja Matynia-Bonik: "The Time for Thrifty and Resourceful People"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Please, allow me to refer to your presentation at the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. Among other things, you stated that the recognition of the principle of social justice is but a beginning of the road. It is imperative to implement this justice; in order to do this, a very significant dilemma must be solved. The dilemma is rooted in the desire of the populace to have a state of welfare and justice. However, at the same time this is not a populace working in a way which would render these principles attainable.

In other words, there is a gap between desires and opportunities. Social attitudes are inconsistent. Do the sociologists know the reason for that?

[Answer] Social justice is a beautiful and noble ideal, which we are not able to implement in full, in either the absolute aspect, so that it is equitable for everyone, or the relative aspect, for example, with regard to wages. Social justice is not tantamount to egalitarianism. Evenly does not mean equitably. There should be a close dependence between labor and wages, which should be understandable to the worker.

It is not the idea of social justice that is controversial, but the principles of implementing it in practice. The crisis situation resulted in a segment of the populace being frustrated and unaware of, or even not desiring to become aware of, the opportunities for a better implementation of the principle of justice. This is an important social problem.

You asked whether the sociologists are trying to pinpoint the reason for that. Our society is sometimes faulted for having overblown aspirations. I do not subscribe to this view because in the opinion of various sociologists researching the class structure of society, the attitude towards work and systems of remuneration, it turns out that aspirations are realistic, that people strive to achieve a salary level or a position



which they shoot for generally within the confines of their opportunities. Therefore, it seems to me that we are having to do with the loss of masterly vision of the opportunities for meeting even these realistic aspirations, rather than excessive aspirations and overblown ambitions.

[Question] It is invariably stressed on various occasions that an improvement in the situation of the country and, inter alia, of individual citizens depends on work. There is no other way. At the same time the conviction is expressed by the populace or at least in certain spheres of it that the Pole makes a good worker abroad. This is explained not only by financial incentives, but also by a better organization of work and adherence to the principles of discipline. What is your opinion of that?

[Answer] These are popular opinions, but they are not proven. There is the stereotype of a Pole who works well and makes good money, for example, in enterprises exporting our technical developments. There is the stereotype of a Pole who works well after his emigration or of the one going to the so-called "seasonal botch jobs." It should be mentioned that in principle we do not know how these Poles work because no statistics of their productivity are available, if for no other reason. It is difficult to say something about whether they indeed work that well; it can only be assumed that they work better over there.

Nonetheless, there is proof that our labor productivity is below the one achieved by our neighbors. What is the reason? I do not think that "national character" is the reason, but rather the organization of production, the systems of management, the methods of planning, the style of executive work, the attitudes towards labor and the mode of utilization of natural resources. We cannot speak about just one particular factor which accounts for our lower labor productivity in comparison with our neighbors.

Simply put, this low productivity should be explained by a very large number of interlocking factors. Therefore, it is an illusion to think that we can cause a revolution in favor of ultraproductive work by stimulating exclusively the desire to work and resorting to so-called financial incentives. The ideologues are right in that people should be encouraged to work by financial and moral incentives. However, geologists are also right in saying that we are wasting our resources. Similarly, we can say that certain reserves of labor productivity are to be found in the financial and banking systems.

It is very upsetting that we produce less than others per capita, that we are less resourceful, less productive. This is where we should start--by improving productivity and later on everyday life.

[Question] The multitude of factors affecting our productivity that you mentioned does not at all make it easier to achieve a change for the better in this field. Is this not so?

[Answer] I disagree. We are not a society which stands in place; however, we need much more vigor. At one time this was termed, not too attractively,

organic work, and later--the socialist attitude towards labor. At present, the challenge is to create, to work and be convinced that we carry the opportunity for change for the better inside ourselves. After all, these opportunities do not depend on either the top or the bottom [social strata] taken alone. They depend solely on those working in enterprises in blue-collar jobs and those doing paperwork in the departments and occupying ministerial offices. This joint mode of resourcefulness is the only way out of the difficult situation, of our crisis.

[Question] Therefore, we need thrifty and resourceful people.

[Answer] This is beyond any doubt. It seems to me that some of the mechanisms of reform introduced in the economy, maybe still too inconsistently—for example, the principles of autonomy or enterprise self-financing—exact the desirable behavior on the job. Our misfortune is having a great number of enterprises operating in the red where desirable attitudes are not exacted. Worse yet, someone will always come up with a cheap loan or else will sign a request for additional financing. In view of this, I would say that we are unreasonably managing society or an unreasonably managing administration, because we put up with resourcelessness, losses, laziness or waste in all too many cases. It is upsetting to repeat all these criticisms of mismanagement. The data for the three quarters of this year suggest that some enterprises operate as they used to in the time which were so bitterly criticized, that is to say when centralism and subsidies to unprofitable enterprises existed. So far, no restructuring of the material product has occurred, despite the changes in the system of governing and managing the economy. With difficulty, we are restoring the growth of production, but we are not regaining the level of welfare.

[Question] To what extent can workers' self-government as one of the forms of joint management effect an improvement in enterprise management?

[Answer] Self-government is a chance, which is difficult to realize for several reasons. Firstly, some of the directors are reluctant to share authority; secondly, the opposition boycotts this institution; thirdly, being very difficult is simply the nature of self-government as such. This is known not only in Poland, but also in Yugoslavia. Self-government is a very ambitious undertaking, which is the least implemented among the three S's. The other two, autonomy and self-financing, are implemented more successfully, as public opinion polls show.

However, there are opportunities for the work force to perceive itself as a managing subject in the enterprise. I repeat once again that according to our research and observations, this is a terribly difficult process.

[Question] I agree, but to this end the cooperation of all the management organs and social bodies operating in the enterprise, such as the management, the party, self-government bodies and trade unions, is necessary. At present, this cooperation is still only assuming a new shape, which does not facilitate efficient and democratic joint management. There are no models to follow, either.

[Answer] We should not transplant either the Hungarian or the Yugoslav model, because our environment is very peculiar. Our system of joint government is incomparable with the ones of our immediate and more remote neighbors. It can be compared even less with Western systems of management. Let us tackle our problems ourselves. There is no other way out. The power of the people becomes a hollow notion in the absence of industrial, economic and enterprise democracy. The enterprise is exactly the most crucial place where this democracy should be translated into reality.

There was a time when the sociologists made a mistake in asserting that there is a vacuum between the family and the state. There is no such vacuum. The enterprise is exactly the most important place where people, specifically 18 million adult Poles, achieve self-realization. This is no vacuum. This work is an inseparable component of our life.

[Question] Therefore, not much can be accomplished unless the rank-and-file employee becomes aware that the results of the work of the entire enterprise depend on his individual work.

[Answer] It is true that everyone is concerned with his own good and does not necessarily keep common goals in mind. It would not, however, be proper to criticize this, because this is normal. I think that the shaping of desirable consciousness can occur in the way of, among other things, observing the rigorous principles of financing and motivation. As long as there is room for manipulation and combinations including speculation, it is difficult to shape proper attitudes towards labor. At present, administering a strict lesson by way of the economic position of profitable versus unprofitable enterprises is most important. The economic reform introduces appropriate mechanisms, but sometimes they are hampered by the inclination to get around regulations and economic principles.

[Interviewer] In doing so, we act contrary to our own interest.

9761

CSO: 2600/207

EXPERT ON PLURALISM INTERVIEWED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No 42, 19 Oct 83 pp 1, 4, 5

[Interview with Prof Stanislaw Ehrlich by Zbyslaw Rykowski and Wieslaw Wladyka; May 1983, place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Professor, we would like to discuss pluralism...

[Answer] Reluctantly, very reluctantly will I agree to this conversation.

[Question] Why reluctantly?

[Answer] Some are "idolizing," others abusing, but everyone is shouting: pluralism. Do you gentlemen think that the aura of general obstinacy, the climate of serious international tension favors reflections on a topic which requires, after all, a disposition toward dialogue? Will anyone have the patience to read this interview through? Besides, I am personally reluctant, but this is truly less meaningful. You came, gentlemen, in order to pull me from my hiding place, to which I have grown accustomed for some time, in which "I have set up a household," and you want to dust me off, sweep away the cobwebs of indifference from the outsider of public life, who in those stormy 15 or 16 months could publish mainly in the Lomza KONTAKTY. There I discovered an enlightened editorial staff under humanitarian supervision in Bialystok. Hoping that what I have said will not harm them, I stand before you as a pluralist of the Kurpie Lands, who treats your initiative as a slightly charitable action "for the relief of a monument." Besides this, the topic has become completely repugnant to me.

[Question] To you? The author of the only scientific work in our literature about the phenomenon of pluralism?

[Answer] The only one? Really? After all, this is my second book on the topic of pluralism.

[Question] The second?

[Answer] My dear colleagues, "Authority and Interests," in the first publication entitled "Pressure Groups," discussed group pluralism, only somehow this, perhaps luckily, was not noticed, and that book announced just this book about which we are beginning to talk. It paved the way for it.



[Question] "The Faces of Pluralisms" was published after many incidents to which, after all, you make unequivocal allusion in the preface...

[Answer] It is worth pausing over these incidents but not to ponder the "wrongs," about which there cannot be discussion. Finally, what I foresaw and what I wanted happened, it was not a question then of a "galley-slave song," but of introducing the subject on the basis of the fate of the book. I delivered its typed version to the publishing house over 8 years ago. It appeared in August 1980. It is worth then scrutinizing this very mild battle. I do not want to style myself on this issue as a "lonely samurai." It was not alone. Many people helped with the book. Maria Ofierska, an editor prized in sociological circles, after reading through the manuscript, without hesitation came out in favor of publishing the work. During the second half of the 1970's, this caused her problems. Positive reviews of the publication were written by Professors Wladyslaw Markiewicz and Jan Szczepanski. After these reviews the quick publication of the book was proposed to me under the condition that I remove its two final chapters.

[Question] About elements of pluralism in Marxist thought and in the practice of socialism?

[Answer] Yes. Accepting this proposal would have meant after all publishing a different book. So I could not agree to it. Then Wladyslaw Markiewicz wrote a second review which could be summarized in five words: "Do not throw out anything." Paving the way for the book, I wrote a few articles, one of them having a fundamental character: "The Subject of Pluralism" published by Jozef Chalasinski in KULTURA I SPOLECZENSTWO. There was never a word said concerning this article that he had to destroy copies; I only found out about this after his death. The publishing process lasted a long time: deliberate, profound, solid. In the first silent films for the demonstration of the relentless run of time, the lazily flowing, widespread river and dreamy inscription appeared on the screen; and so flowed the years... The years flowed until the storm broke loose. As a result of the sudden editorial lurch, two unfavorable publishers of the book fell overboard, and I sailed farther on my own course. The text published, with the exception of one unimportant interference, agreed with the manuscript. Well, I hope that after this longish account, you gentlemen do not have any doubt as to what worldwide pluralism is. An on this occasion I would like to call your attention to the multivolume, monumental work of the famous Catholic philosopher, Stefan Swiezawski, devoted the Christian philosophy of the Middle Ages. One volume of this work is entirely devoted to the Christian pluralist philosophy of that epoch.

They Were Going Shouting Pluralism, Pluralism...

[Question] Normally one speaks of one pluralism. You, as early as the title of the book, used the plural.

[Answer] I purposely used two nouns in plural: the faces of pluralisms. If there was not the fear of frightening away readers, I would call it "the pluralism of pluralisms." There is a definite sense in such a

formulation of the title of the book; there is in it a double warning, directed toward different, even contradictory to each other, circles of those addressed. Those were going shouting pluralism...pluralism... And seeing "those shouters" already I wanted to kindle a "burning bush," but there was not enough burning emotion in me. So I mounted the academic platform and thumped ex cathedra: what kind?

[Question] Exactly, thanks to such a resolution of the matter, this book is so important, perhaps even ever more important. This academic work has an essential political implication.

[Answer] I wanted that even my title for the book should tell some: "You are saying that you are rejecting pluralism because this is a bourgeois direction that softens us because it is saturated with anticommunist ideology." But since pluralism is not one but there are many of them, what will you do? Which do you reject, all of them? Others, on the other hand, from the very title could read a reproach: "You are enthusiastic about pluralism because this is your shield against totalitarianism, but which pluralism are you choosing, all?" This opposition, if one is to be directed by contempt for facts and for any knowledge of the subject, would make sense only in one case, if it is assumed groundlessly that pluralism is an inseparable characteristic of Western, the true and only, democracy. Beyond this everything is going like clockwork. One does not allow any other understanding; one creates unremovable opposition. Or... Opposite each other are two worlds, which can coexist at the most temporarily, but for a longer run there is no place for both. What a lucky find for the ideology of intolerance. But if one does not already pay homage to it, this type of book is highly uncomfortable. That is why I was not surprised that the book from which, as you say, obvious political conclusions are flowing was passed over in silence by practically the whole RSW press, by the whole Catholic press, by the whole Solidarnosc press and by groups publishing "outside of official circulation." In an irrational situation, the book, the last chapter of which was entitled "About the Rationality of Pluralism," would not be noticed. Emotion is the enemy of reflection. Only the latter is the ally of both the researcher and the politician. And this is perhaps common to both such different professions. To this I would add the commentary: towards the close of this century, no policy, great or small, in any country, government or opposition, none can do without science; this means without authentic experts.

Their authenticity is created and verified only by the environment of the scientific specialists to which they belong.

About Pluralism in Economy, About Jagiello and NEP

[Question] There are many pluralisms, you are saying. Besides political pluralism, there may be cultural pluralism also, for example, ethical and religious, normative pluralism, pluralism in science...

[Answer] ...without which it is possible to lay science in the grave at once. Yes, elements of pluralism can be seen in each area of social life. Let us begin perhaps from pluralism in the economic sphere, where we have to deal with the phenomenon of economy having many systems or sectors. This problem appears equally in the capitalist system and in the noncapitalist. It can easily be observed that in the first one, the accumulation of capital stops at certain uncrossable barriers, on which gigantic-mania crashes. It turns out that the functioning of concerns, factories and supranational capitalist associations requires radical decentralization of decision-making. The General Motors concern initiated it perhaps first and became famous with it, finding many imitators. After a few years a Prof Schumacher appeared in England and notified the world that "what is small is beautiful." Essentially, it is beautiful in so far as small economic units proved to be a necessary complement of the great and the enormous.

[Question] Here, meanwhile, a few years ago small industry was buried. A fixed quality of thinking is that we should make use in our conditions first of all of a macro-scale, and order is identified too often with a homogenous organization with uniformity. Organizational uniformity sometimes is understood as an attribute of systems.

[Answer] Socialism does not necessarily have to be identified with capitalism stood on its head. Despite fundamental systemic differences, certain organizational solutions in the economy may be convergent. This concerns above all the problem of decentralization of certain economic decisions. Do you remember, colleagues, "Color of Time" by Wazyk?

Those who plan pickles on a national scale,  
Those who limit blood for a hospital,  
Are the same,  
The grotesque and crime live in one house.  
Let us laugh, let us laugh at pickles.

He was writing this in 1955-1956. Please notice that this "controversial" poet does not question, however, planned economy. He only deplores the sense of planning of pickles on a national scale. His precision should astonish no one, since Wazyk had a mathematical education...

[Question] Uniformity in an organization sooner or later clashes with the diversity of situation and needs as they appear in life. And during harvest time, it turns out that the peasants do not have scythes...

[Answer] ...and this in a country which first in the world raised a division of scythemen. It turned out that a factory of fuel-efficient cars "ate up" the factory of scythes; as a result, the small Polish fiats "mowed" the traditional, old-fashioned scythes. The idea of centralized gigantic-mania, so vital among our false technocrats, led to the liquidation of local industry. Let us add that this kind of tendency had to strike also at the craft trades, in the whole cooperative organization, de facto nationalization and in other forms of management not state controlled. These are not new matters. Let me mention Jagiello...

[Question] You are thinking about the book by Herzy Jagiello, "Of the Polish Road to Socialism"?

[Answer] Yes. Jagiello relates the disputes of the 1940's, and also the disputes about the future economic model of Poland. Advocates of the differentiated economic forms clashed then with the enthusiasts of the only, best for everything, state ownership. It is a pity that such an important book was published in only 900 copies.

[Question] What do you think of the recalling of historic experiences as patterns for system solutions so popular today? For example, NEP is in fashion now.

[Answer] Only people operating a camera know the "replay." History does not know it. On the other hand, the knowledge of the NEP period and the conceptions which were born in the international workers' movement before and after it allow a better understanding of the tasks that stand before us and problems connected with the initiation of economic reforms. Finally, fencing with Marxism-Leninism obligates one to something.

#### In the Labyrinth of Political Pluralism

[Question] It obligates one among others to see the connection between the economy and politics.

[Answer] Yes. The tendency toward separate treatment of economic and political problems is false in both the scientific and political respect. This separation is justified only if it is a question of specialization problems. In the social process it is difficult to separate the areas of politics and the economy. There are economic decisions that have political consequences; for example, the price rise in 1970. And vice versa, political decisions can have economic consequences. The introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981 enabled the stopping of the further economic degradation of the country.

[Question] In this way we are finally getting to political pluralism.

[Answer] This, which is usually called political pluralism, vulgarly resolves itself into a multitude of political parties as opposed to a single party system. And so as a matter of fact we are presented with still one more version of the antinomy of the democratic West and the totalitarian East. The flattening of the problem allows each freely and with great seriousness to debate pluralism. This is very simple. If in the kindly "vegetable market" we find only spinach, let us not hesitate to censure it as monistic, monolithic and totalitarian.

But if we succeed in finding a "vegetable market" supplied with a full assortment of early vegetables, with satisfaction we will qualify it as pluralistic. It is enough to differentiate the singular from the plural and to speak out emphatically as an advocate of this latter in order to be dubbed a pluralist. When some clap about pluralism, others shout about



ideological subversion, when they only hear the word pluralism. Life, however, does not allow for such an easy task and thoughtlessness if, of course, we want somehow to make out in the thicket of the criss-crossing social and political processes and not to be content with cognitive possibilities, using Boy's formulization of a drunken child in the fog. The political history of systems knows periods when in multiparty systems a special situation--it does not necessarily have to be during a war--calls to life the so-called great coalition which for the period of its existence suspends or temporarily levels the multiparty system. West Germany and Austria experienced this after World War II. Let us also note that Mexico, which in both the East and the West is qualified as a democratic system, for several decades has been governed by the Institutional Revolution Party. Actually then we are dealing there with a one-party system. Of course, inspiring oneself by pluralism from the "vegetable market" will not explain anything. On the other hand, it is worth thinking over whether a certain elasticity of the internal party structure, in which in this country great unions of interests come into prominence, does not favor the durability of a system. It is also worth thinking about why among all such different nations from the Elbe to the Pacific Ocean smeared with the label of totalitarianism, the most often and perhaps the only exception the Western specialists make for Eastern systems is for Yugoslavia. But it has precisely a one-party system...

[Question] Well fine, but does it make sense to compare the multiparty system we have with that in the West?

[Answer] Our native apologists apply our multiparty system to that in the West, not caring that at the same time they are calling it capitalist or bourgeois, which after all, if these adjectives are not treated as an assessment but descriptively, will be a true statement. I think on the other hand that it would make sense to compare, for uncovering differences existing between them, multiparty systems with one-party systems in the schemes of the great family of noncapitalistic systems which includes societies at different stages of development. Taking into consideration the experience of history of precisely these systems, I propose to examine the elements of pluralism; I try to do this in the book, in Marxism itself and in political practice. That means to examine those periods in which proper elements of pluralism for noncapitalistic systems appeared. Anyway, the matter of multi- or single party systems by no means exhausts the problems of political pluralism.

[Question] In the face of this, two questions emerge: what essential problems still fall within the domain of political pluralism, and what is to be, according to you, the purpose of examining our pluralisms?

[Answer] In the sphere of political pluralism it is necessary of course to consider the relation of the center of decision to local centers of decision.

[Question] Well, precisely. The dilemma of unity and diversity, effectiveness and democracy is as old as the world. The postulate of simultaneous strengthening of centralism and democracy sounds like a dialectical spell. Do you believe in democratic centralism?

[Answer] It is not a matter of faith but of analysis. Today very few want to hear about democratic centralism, although this formula has lots of sense because it includes in it the outline answer to the question: How much centralism is necessary and how much decentralization, where and when? And only such a question is sensible. If it happened that the discrediting of the postulate of democratic centralism came, it is explained by the fact that the practice of bureaucratic centralism pretended to be the formula of democratic centralism compromising it in the eyes of the masses, from which, even with the present, quite considerable level of education, one cannot require a specialist's knowledge. Fencing with the slogan of democratic centralism was a particular tribute of hypocrisy to virtue. I mentioned that only the economic or organizational advisability should decide about the proportions of centralism and decentralization. Who in a modern nation would propagate decentralization of the army, the post office, customs or airports? Such attempts would be a guarantee of chaos and lack of organization. However, in other areas decentralization will be simply indispensable, which a moment ago I was trying to prove. The answer to the question how much centralism and how much decentralization requires historical and concrete treatment. Ideology will not suffice, will not substitute for a knowledge of realities, will not substitute for the ability to use organizational "sztamajza."

[Question] The remark is very timely. A discussion saturated with misunderstanding over the reform of the local leadership is taking place.

[Answer] In our conditions the reform of local centers of decision cannot be made under the pressure of demagoguery, which sounds the alarm that here the tendency appeared juxtaposing the idea of the liberal, bourgeoisie self-government from the 19th century with our threatened people's state. This reform must be suited to the needs of the economic reform and to the postulate for unblocking the social and civic, meaning individual, initiative.

[Question] Your book "Authority and Interests" is a study of the political structure of capitalism. Would you devote the same amount of attention to pressure groups in a book about the political structure of socialism?

[Answer] In your question, colleagues, a certain misunderstanding is entangled which has been dragging after this book since its first edition. I maintained from the beginning and I still maintain that the category of "pressure groups" is not a good investigative instrument and should be used carefully; that is why against the resistance of the graphic artists I forced quotation marks to be put on the cover. I consistently used them in the book itself, trying to explain that in capitalism everybody knows how to count; pressure is an expensive matter and that is why this weapon is reached for after exhausting persuasive dialogue and negotiations. The social processes in capitalism are not based on the fact that everybody pressures everybody. Money simply does not allow for this. But who will get involved in tracing the author's thinking, since it is enough to reach for a quick title. In the face of this I changed the title in the following editions and from there came the title: "Authority and Interests." And so in three successive books, from which "An Introduction to the Science of the State

and Law" I consider more important than both books devoted to pluralism, I tried to bring out the fundamental thought that in the social system, so to say, the lead is taken by two fundamental structures: the structure of influences, that is, various interests, and the decision structure, that is, political. The mutual interaction of these two structures leaves its imprint on the entirety of social processes. The structure of influences is, of course, more diversified. It includes different organized interests, great and small, informal groups, dependent and independent experts without whom one cannot imagine a modern political process. The structure of political decisions on the other hand is far less diversified if at all. Then it assumes a monolithic and closed character. I think that this is the answer to your question.

#### A Common Denominator of Pluralisms

[Question] Professor, you spoke of different pluralisms. What connects such different phenomena?

[Answer] I think that it is possible to qualify as pluralistic each set of viewpoints, each institution or set of institutions, each social movement which opposes unjustified uniformity and centralism, about which we have spoken, especially in its extreme form. Thus there is no democracy without pluralism, but the latter is a far wider notion. All these pluralisms can be arranged on one continuous line drawn from anarchistic, steering individualism to totalitarianism. It would be easy then to graphically present this "less and more pluralism," and its self-annihilation on one pole and its liquidation on the other pole. Let me reach for my own book and I will read the last sentence of the final chapter devoted to the rationalization of pluralism: "In the end, pluralism is also a certain way of thinking which draws its inspiration from tolerance, without which there is no social progress, no public opinion, no humanism, no development of intellectual creativity."

[Question] Professor, is pluralism not just one more Polish complex? What kind of reception do your ideas get in the world? We know that your book was translated and published abroad...

[Answer] Do not think that it went smoothly there. In the beginning I suffered only defeats. Eight publishers in Paris served me a rejection. One of the directors of Gallimard said, "It is a shame that you did not bring us 'Pressure Groups'; this book that you are proposing to us now unfortunately we are unable to publish; you understand, pluralism..." Of course I understood: this professor from the East will not teach us pluralism...? It went similarly in Italy and West Germany... But at the end of 1980 a French edition appeared in Brussels, and an English edition in the Pergamon Press. My pursuit after foreign editors running away in panic I recognized as finished.

[Question] You are, it appears, the founder of the international researchers on pluralism.

[Answer] In 1976, at the International Political Science Society Congress in Edenburg, I stepped forward with an initiative for the creation of a permanent research committee for matters of social and political pluralism. In the beginning this also was tough work; my conception was not well understood, everyone was used to a different one. After the organizational meeting in Edenburg, one of my colleagues took me aside and stated, "I wish you well but I am backing out--what you are proposing is chaos." I answered, "My colleague, please remember Genesis, the world was created precisely from chaos." The "deserter" not only stayed but became one of the most active members of the committee. After two roundtable conferences, doubts about the subject of the "Eastern" conception of pluralism disappeared. In the end they stopped arguing about what should be understood by pluralism. With objective interest, we met also at the World Congress in Moscow in 1979 and in the make-up of the committee we were able to add a Polish professor. It began to be accepted as natural in the committee that we would discuss pluralism in international relations, on Corfu, and then religious pluralism, following its aspects in Black African societies, in Brussels, in order to continue the two latter subjects also at the World Congress in Rio, without my participation, however, and that we are getting ready in Toronto in September to plunge ourselves into the problem of federalism, as still one more version of pluralism. We also published one volume of our works in England; two others are in preparation in Italy and Belgium. It is time then already to withdraw from the position of chairman of the committee at the upcoming congress. I am already tired. My arms hurt. My arms hurt me... from smashing open doors. I have been occupied with this for nearly thirty years, since 1958.

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CSO: 2600/196



## ATTITUDE OF STATE ADMINISTRATORS CRITICIZED

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 21, 12 Oct 83 p 8

[Article by Edward Grezelak: "Ignorance and Arrogance Often Go Together"]

[Text] Arrogance and ignorance are two of many negative human traits. The first of these is comprised of audacity, self-righteousness, and indifference to others. The second includes a lack of awareness of things. Arrogance does not always go along with ignorance. Often, just the opposite is the case. Persons with such traits can be found in various segments of society. It is not difficult to spot them or to be aware of their presence. Where they are, they cause a lot of "bad blood."

These are socially unpleasant and troublesome traits, especially when persons with such traits (and worst of all when both occur in one person) are in a position of authority. It does not matter where or what kind of position, whether in a factory, cooperative, office, public institution, social organization, in the city or in the country. Sometimes, arrogance becomes the style of the office, or of the plant administration, while ignorance is a tolerated phenomenon. Arrogant people are usually not bothered by ignorant people--ignorant people are generally subservient to the arrogant.

When this happens, and unfortunately this still happens fairly often, people come up against an atmosphere of disrespect for themselves as persons, and toward their affairs. Struggling against barriers of arrogance are representatives of the trade union movement, of workers' self-governing bodies, and of other social and trade organizations, not to mention party organizations and basic party echelons.

Many bitter words and comments about the signs of arrogance and ignorance are heard during plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Much was said in the speeches of the participants of the National Council of the Workers' Aktiv. Recently, much was said during a meeting of union members with Wojciech Jaruzelski and other members of the government, and also during a meeting of the first secretaries of the KZ (plant committees) of the PZPR with Kazimierz Barcikowski and with other administrative members of the party and the government. Significant and

close to the truth was the statement of Wladyslaw Lupanski at the meeting of the union members: "Many directors are not directors but dictators." But are these very harmful signs characteristic only of directors?

Complaints of arrogance and ignorance of numerous individuals occupying various administrative positions, office workers, and more than one unit of the state and economic administration have been noted by various institutions for complaints and grievances. They also have come in to complaints and letters departments of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, the Democratic Party, the Sejm, and the government. Sometimes, examples of the results of extreme arrogance and exceptional ignorance are given by the press, radio and television.

This shows that more than one unit of our social, national and economic life suffers constantly from this serious disease. It is also politically harmful, especially in our sociopolitical system, because it directly affects working people and their interests, simultaneously undermining trust in civil authority, and in our party.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, as well as other members of the party leadership, many times have pointed out and constantly emphasize the need to fight both arrogance and ignorance, especially in bureaucratic units.

In the party much has been done to get rid of the carriers of these negative traits and of the climate of arrogance they bring to the echelons. This does not mean that the party has rid itself once and for all of such threats. In a report by the Politburo at the 12th Plenum of the Central Committee, it was said that in the course of the pre-plenum consultative meetings the party leadership with the aktiv the "danger connected with the possibility of the recurrence of bureaucratic practices in the life of the party" was pointed out, that "the need to continue the fight against all signs of license, lack of feeling toward people, and arrogance in the state and economic administration was ascertained."

The 12th Plenum instructed party members to treat the fight against this type of disease as a party obligation. The first secretary of the Central Committee noted at the plenum that "we suffer the most damage when, in the eyes of non-party members, bad things are going on, when we show incompetence, tolerate waste, arrogance and other negative phenomena."

This correct assessment must be remembered in our party work. Sometimes, these arrogant and ignorant people are card-carrying party members.

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CSO: 2600/197

# CONTRIBUTION OF CEAUSESCU TO 'CREATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF MARXISM'

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 9 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by Univ Prof Dr Gh. A. Cazan: "The Contribution of Our Party and Its Secretary General to the Creative, Revolutionary Development of the Theory and Practice of Socialist Construction"]

[Text] At the important moments of social evolution, history itself creates its own great personalities in order to promote its essential meanings. Their life and work express the awareness of the epoch. The forms in which the determinism of history come forward are different, without always being in opposition. Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel and so forth were heroes of thought; Cromwell, Robespierre and so forth were heroes of action. The first explored the world so as to discover its laws of existence, attempting to contribute to the progress of truth. They especially concentrated upon the world of ideas. The others, at the opposite pole, thought about the means of carrying out the meaning of history. There is, however, a third form by which historical reasoning is discovered, being achieved without contradiction through the intermediary of certain personalities not solely of thought or of action, but of thought and action at the same time. These people passionately investigate the truth of the world and, at the same time, they are involved with all their being in the whirlpool of the struggle to bring this about. In the life of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu the very tight blending of revolutionary activities - carried out under the sign of profound devotion to the fundamental interests of our people and the cause of socialism - and of theoretical creative work for generalizing new trends and processes belonging to the contemporary world places our secretary general among the ranks of this type of historical personality. Representing the most precious aspirations of the Romanian people, decency and the sense of righteousness, and moderation and the vocation of freedom, participating since the tenderest years of youth in the revolutionary struggle of the working class and the popular masses against exploitation and for the victory of socialism in our country, and demonstrating an exceptional receptiveness to the fundamental events and experiences of mankind in the 20th century, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has created on these bases a profoundly original and innovative theoretical view which represents, in the context of the contemporary movement of ideas, a contribution of the greatest significance to the creative development of revolutionary theory.

The prodigious theoretical thought of the secretary general of the party is found in all the essential documents of our party, beginning with the Ninth Party Congress

and with the three National Conferences which took place during this time span, and in the hundreds of of speeches presented on various occasions and up until the plenary session of the RCP Central Committee of 1-2 June 1983 or the recent Conference on the Problems of Organizational and Political-Educational Work.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretical work is based upon social-human practice, the most advanced work in philosophy, science and culture, the major requirements of man and mankind and the aspirations of the people to cooperate peacefully on the basis of mutual respect and to create their own happy future.

Being multilateral in nature, similar to experiences which serve as its basis, the theoretical work of the secretary general of our party is defined in our philosophical contemporary times in a profoundly unified manner whose essence is the dialectic spirit and the design and development of materialist dialectics and dialectic materialism both as methodological instruments for the analysis of reality and as a revolutionary theory for understanding, interpreting and changing the world.

One of the most significant contributions of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu to the creative development of Marxism is found precisely in the restoration of material dialectics to its natural rights, as revolutionary dialectics. From this perspective, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has broadly shown, by opening new horizons for thought and theory, the theoretical errors and practical negative consequences of dogmatism and the grave danger represented by narrow, metaphysical theses and theoretical simplicities for the workers movement in general and for the building of socialism in particular.

The criticism of dogmatism has been transformed in the view of our party into an act that liberates thinking, since thought itself was conceived as active and constructive, in a complex link with the data of social-historical practice. The fundamental requirement of revolutionary theory, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed is not to be a dogma, "but a living, creative science," "a means of research into the development of society." And, precisely for that reason the development of Marxism does not mean "repeating purely and simply certain general theses and ideas that were put forth in their time by the Marxist-Leninist classics, certain formulations of principles regarding the revolution or socialist construction."

On the contrary, the creative development of Marxism necessarily implies the permanent investigation of life and, therefore, new theoretical ideas that will reflect not merely what life was, but especially what life is and what can, at the same time, direct the activities for the revolutionary transformation of life. In this regard, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has said: "Life must be understood in all its complexity, a complexity which is sometimes contradictory, in order to create an exact scientific picture of the phenomena and trends which characterize the stage one is in at a particular moment in the development of society." This is so not merely to acquire an understanding in and of itself of life, but "so as to determine which stage and the appropriate means of action."



The theoretical work of the secretary general of the party, achieved from this revolutionary view of materialist dialectics and its place in contemporary society, covers a broad area. Without being able to include the theoretical contributions in all their vastness contained in the work of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we will stress that in the spirit of Marxist thought and the progressive traditions of Romanian philosophy, the secretary general of the party has analyzed and developed fundamental theses and ideas for any social theory.

In this regard, there is special importance in the relationship between the general and the specific. In the dialectical view of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, neither the general nor the specific exists independently, broken one from the other. A consideration of the general in itself places thought somewhere in the abstract sphere, breaking it away from the course of life and social practices. Conversely, a consideration of the individual in his separation from the general leads to empirism. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has rejected such a counterpoising of metaphysical essence, showing its especially serious political consequences which affect the prestige of Marxism and its power for being spread about and the relations between the communist and workers parties and between them and the other parties of the working class or other progressive forces. However, precisely because of the ignoring or underestimating the specific in the construction of the new society, there has been an abusive distortion of national history and a lack of appreciation of the struggle of the popular masses for preserving their national being, language and progressive national culture.

To counter such a simplification of the Marxist ideas about the relationship of the general and the specific in the construction of the new society, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has consistently developed in all his works the idea of the dialectical relationship between the general and the specific, stressing that the failure to consider the general socialist laws and principles can cause great harm to the historical work of building the new order and, similarly, the failure to take into account realities and to use certain methods or patterns that do not heed these realities can bring about great difficulties and even endanger the socialist development of the country itself.

The secretary general of the party's consistent materialist and dialectical resolution of the relationship between the general and the specific in the building of socialist society has enriched the treasury of Marxist philosophy and, at the same time, has opened a new, higher stage in understanding the history of the country and the role of the nation in socialism in the contemporary era, of the role of the party and state in the management of the social-economic, political and ideological processes that are characteristic of the new society, and of the need for a new type of relationship between the communist and workers parties and between all progressive forces.

Unloading the weight of the metaphysical pseudo-representatives from philosophical thought, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu masterfully defined in numerous works the course of the history of the Romanians from their beginnings up to our days, placing it in its true light and redefining the stages through which it passed.

Correlating the past, present and future of the people in the spirit of dialectical materialism, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu developed the powerful idea, which became the focus of all the party's political-educational activities, whereby "the establishment in history of the origins and continuity of the Romanian people within the Carpathian-Danubian basin constitutes the basis of any ideological, theoretical and political-educational activity." Emphasizing our people's manner of living, thinking and feeling, its social, economic and political history are the sacred legacy which cannot be overlooked, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu gave our people its true history and opened new horizons for the educational activities that must benefit from the lessons of history and the wisdom transmitted to us by so many generations of forefathers.

At the same time and from this view of dialectical history, the secretary general of the party elaborated a fully scientific, realistic and, at the same time, humanistic view about the nation and its functions in the building of a socialist society and in the contemporary world in general, demonstrating that the nation, which appeared at a certain stage of development of society, continues to be a human community with specific traits and functions and a progressive role in social affairs. The interdependencies of the current world, the technical-scientific revolution and the problems of a global nature in the present-day world do not turn the nation into an outdated reality or an impediment to progress, as some followers of "globalism" or others having false representations may claim, but rather once again point out the fact that the nation, understood through its own historical-objective and spiritual factors, continues and will continue to be for a long time "an important social-historical category and a basic factor for the progress of society."

The materialist-historical understanding of the nation and the thorough knowledge of national realities during the contemporary period have implications of the greatest significance at the level of political affairs and international relations. Since nations have not exhausted their role, the logical result is that the national states must be considered as independent and sovereign, while relations between them must be based upon equal rights and mutually advantageous cooperation. Cooperation between nations, for its part, must successfully exclude any tendencies to deny the national values, to diminish and violate national independence and sovereignty and to impose the will of one national state in its relations with another.

The views about the party and state are also among the fields of greatest importance which, in recent years, have known considerable theoretical development. In our party's view and that of comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the party and state are analyzed as a living reality that is in a continuing transformation and development in direct relationship to the tasks and objectives of our society. The party is not an entity placed beyond or above social-political realities, an idea empty of content, but rather the party is the vital center of the nation, having the responsibility of being directly involved in the practical solution of all the problems confronting the building of socialism. Precisely for that reason, to the degree of progress in society its role becomes more and more complex and its responsibilities and those of its members becoming ever greater. The duty of the party, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has stressed, is

not to be bound up in cliches, but to be transformed itself according to the requirements of life, something that is possible only under the conditions of struggle and activities for the achievement of the ideals of the people.

Our socialist state, for its part, is defined by the secretary general of the party as a state of workers revolutionary democracy, of all the people, and as the administrator of the people's wealth. These definitions place in a new light the relationship between the party and the state and between the state and the democratic organisms.

As a passionate patriot linked through his being to the people and the popular masses, a humanist in the authentic sense of the word, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is shown to be a theoretician and passionate fighter for the development of socialist democracy. Under the leadership of the secretary general of the party, one of the most perfect systems of state democracy has been created in Romania, one of institutionalized forms, of worker self-management and of the people's participation in the exercise of power and the review of social-economic development.

Beginning with a dialectic view about the evolution of Romanian society and about its place, role and future in the context of contemporary society, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has created the concept of the multilaterally developed socialist society, understood as a stage in the construction of socialism which follows the final victory of socialism in our country and which, through its qualitative processes, prepares for the transition to a new phase of development. The content of the idea of the multilaterally developed socialist society is determined by a group of factors: the development of the forces of production and the improvement of the relationships of production, the ensuring of the greatest possible agreement between these two, the increase in the material and spiritual standard of living of all the people, the full affirmation of the principles of socialist ethics and equality, the development of education, science and culture and socialist democracy, the improvement of social leadership, and the formation and development of the workers' socialist awareness.

Prior to reaching this superior concept for the organization of our socialist society, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu elaborated a series of essential ideas and theses after the Ninth Party Congress regarding the development of the technical-material base of socialism. Thus, he crystalized the programmatic concept for the construction of a socialist society under conditions of a below-average economic development, having in its center the progress of the forces of production. From this sprang the accent placed on investment efforts and the dynamics and updating of industrialization. This new option in the development of the technical-material base of our society required a dialectic position and a scientific outlook, in the sense of assimilating the new things in the world in all the branches of science, as well as stimulating national resources and creative ambitions.

Defining the multilaterally developed socialist society by its objective and subjective factors, subordinated to the ideas of a new quality of life, the secretary general of the party gave special importance to the analysis of the

contradictions in socialism. Against the tendencies to distort the complex realities of socialism and to have an idyllic presentation of socialism, the secretary general of the party demonstrated that in socialist society there can be, at one moment or another during its development, certain contradictions. This necessarily implies understanding and resolving them so as to ensure the progressive development of socialist society.

The profound humanist sense of all the theoretical work done by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu is fully shown in the postulation of the ever greater role of socialist awareness in the overall building of the new society and, in a correlative sense, in the criticism of the fatalist representations about man and human awareness. The development of the theory regarding the dynamic, active nature of awareness and the possibility for its transformation into a true material force for the development of society is seen as true praise for the human being and his ability to create his own new living and working conditions and for his creative ability.

All these theoretical developments have found their expression in the substantial enrichment of human concepts about socialism with new theses and evaluations which represent a higher means of understanding the realities of our times and the spirit of Marxist theory. They are the unified creations which constitute an impressive conceptual body of great importance for the tactics and strategy of socialist construction, something which places comrade Nicolae Ceausescu among the outstanding revolutionary thinkers of our era and among the top personalities of international affairs.

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CSO: 2700/45



## MORAL VALUES, SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 20, 25 Oct 83 pp 12-14

[Article by Vasile Constantin and Ion Iuga]

[Text] In implementing the ideals of socialism and communism the CPR emphasizes the idea that political-ideological work and communist indoctrination of the masses are a process that must be constantly improved in regard to the standards of each stage and the needs of contemporary Romanian society's progress and intensive promotion of the social and moral values characteristic of the new order, the revolutionary spirit, and the principles of socialist ethics and justice. The dialectical value, evolution and potentials of this idea were made abundantly clear by the Expanded Plenum of the CPR Central Committee in June 1982, the National Party Conference, and the Mangalia Working Conference on Problems of Organizational and Political-Educational Work. The Program of Measures to Improve Ideological and Political-Educational Work Among Communists and All Urban and Rural Workers, approved by the Political Executive Committee of the CPR Central Committee at the end of July 1983, as well as the principles, ideas, policies and directions in Nicolae Ceausescu's works, are dedicated to better implementation of this idea. In indicating that ideological and political-educational work to form the revolutionary awareness of the masses and the new man plays a vitally important role in the whole task of socialist construction, the party secretary general pointed out that this work must be further improved and more emphasis must be placed on this field, which shows a certain lag, while a more sustained effort is needed to clarify the various theoretical and ideological problems in connection with Romanian society's stage of development and also with the world situation, the revolutionary changes taking place in the world, and the new problems arising in our period. "Let us make theoretical, ideological and political-educational work a force that will bring about further development of the productive forces and improvement of the social structure and relations." Under the present circumstances ideological and political-educational work must place more emphasis upon a new quality of work in all social activities; development and protection of public property and socialist ownership; political-ideological improvement of party members, activists and all personnel; communist and revolutionary indoctrination of the masses, their knowledge, assimilation and application of party and state policy, the laws of the land, and the principles and standards of the communists' life and work, and their patriotic and scientific-materialist

education; strengthened militant revolutionary spirit and sense of responsibility in performing assigned tasks; firm application of the principles of socialist ethics and justice in all areas, so that they will become permanent standards of the life and work of communists and all builders of socialism in Romania, and their indoctrination in the spirit of unity and brotherhood among all workers regardless of nationality; and firm stands against any violations of the party's and state's minorities policy.

It is increasingly clear that against the background of the new social, economic and political relations, the advanced moral values are asserting themselves more and more throughout Romanian society. Of course the constant renewal of the moral character of the new man cannot be understood or judged on the assumption that socialist Romanian society is solving such complex problems as all-around development of the personality and founding human relations on a truly equitable basis all at once. As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out, "We have idealized and absolutized the development of socialist society at times, conveying the false impression that socialism can know no difficulties or economic crises or that the establishment of the political power of the working class and the start of socialist construction solves the problems and leads to implementation of socialist principles automatically. The facts and experience have demonstrated that such an idyllic picture of socialist society, somewhat understandable during the struggle against the old social order, is dangerous and harmful."

By providing the social and economic conditions to meet man's vital needs, Romanian socialist society affords a favorable ground for moral and political improvement and self-improvement of the personality and conversion of the standards and principles of socialist ethics and justice into individual convictions and facts of awareness. Moreover the very construction of the new order is inseparable from the process of forming and developing the new man and his revolutionary awareness as one of the powerful motive forces of socialism's advance to higher stages. Accordingly the human factor is an essential component and the supreme goal of construction of the new order.

The whole social process of forming the new man, a process not without both objective and subjective difficulties, requires at every stage a constant battle against complacency and indifference to work as well as an effort to keep meeting the constantly growing demands of Romania's social progress. The CPR proceeds on the assumption that all that has been accomplished so far has required effort and sacrifices and that the road to a better civilization constantly demands constructive efforts, dedication, competence and responsibility. Hence also the moral imperative that everyone shall serve national development to his full working capacity and help overcome the temporary difficulties, not without asperities, that will arise in the path of economic and social progress.

The new man's moral "improvement" and generalization of an advanced intellectuality are going on during the conflict between new and old. Forms of behavior in conflict with the moral values the new society is promoting sometimes appear in social experience in a period long after the disappearance of the economic and political inequalities of the old regime. Acquisition of incomes outside of socialist working relations, profiteering, graft and favoritism have very bad effects upon the moral climate in a community that tolerates them, encouraging among other things irresponsibility at work and indifference to reprehensible acts and habits, waste and indiscipline. Those vices conflict with the basic

values of socialism, namely work, humanism, equity and justice, collective spirit, social responsibility, civilized social behavior, revolutionary spirit etc. Being a revolutionary in this respect means intolerance of any behavior contrary to the moral values of the new society, such as shirking responsibility and socially useful work, greed and placing individual selfish interests above community interests. As Nicolae Ceausescu said in his speech at the Mangalia Working Conference on Problems of Organizational and Political-Educational Work, "To be a revolutionary means that you place the party's and people's interests above all and set aside any personal interests. The CPR has raised such revolutionaries, and we need such revolutionaries today!" The CPR's profoundly revolutionary and constructive policy and the socialist humanism characteristic of contemporary Romanian society view the assertion and full development of the personality not in isolation, as opposed to the free assertion and development of the others, but within the balanced development of the whole material and cultural existence of society in the spirit of common work, revolutionary responsibility, equity and justice. They place the individual in the center of all social activity, as the basic aim of moral improvement of social relations and also as the only element capable of securing his own prosperity and fulfillment by his whole creativeness. Socialism is also characterized by a new conception of solidarity, purposefully combining individual with general. In the spirit of this conception, the workers are regarding public obligations and the supreme interests of society more and more as their personal cause

Work is the controlling factor in the conversion of communist moral standards to facts of awareness, to every individual's own character traits, and to convictions and actions. Society values work most highly as a source of the new man's creativeness and self-development. Nicolae Ceausescu stressed that point in the requirement to indoctrinate all citizens, especially youth, in the cult of work, free work relieved of exploitation in Romanian society, as the sole source of the progress and prosperity of the Romanian people and socialist nation and as the chief means of developing all citizens' creative power and talent and of expressing each one's personality and moral self-improvement. In fact the attitude toward work reflects people's actual approach to Romania's social reality.

It is in the acts of daily work and the responsibility with which the workers undertake the tasks of the present stage that the essential factor in the reforms of the new society can be ultimately identified, a society of work and of the man who is freed of exploitation and makes his all-around fulfillment possible through his activity.

Particularly in Romania's present stage of development, the requirement to obtain a new quality of work in all fields (a requirement expressly specified in the Program of Measures recently approved by the Political Executive Committee of the CPR Central Committee and heavily emphasized in the party secretary general's speech at the Mangalia Conference) has a profound social and moral significance, reflected, among other things, in the show of a high sense of responsibility and in the duty of all to try to raise the level of professional, technical, scientific and cultural training and to make better use of material resources, intelligence and creative ability. Securing a high technical level of production and a better quality is by no means an abstract requirement but is being carried out in the workers' performance in every economic unit, and it is a high moral and patriotic commandment for each one at his place of work. As the party secretary



general pointed out, the workers collectives, communists and all workers have high moral and political responsibilities to society, most important of which is the pivotal moral value of an advanced attitude toward work and socialist ownership. "Society guarantees every citizen work according to his training and the possibilities afforded by development of the productive forces. Every citizen has both the right and the duty to work in a sector according to his training where he is needed and where he is assigned. No one may have a guaranteed income unless he works. We shall more firmly apply the socialist principle 'Neither work without bread nor bread without work.'"

As a distinctive trait of the new man, the advanced attitude toward work is reflected in diligence and the effort to promote the new quality in all areas. The requirements for a new and higher quality in all economic activity are surfacing the workers' capacity for initiative and innovating spirit as opposed to the routine one, inertia and resistance to the new.

These economic questions indicate the moral significance of the ability to militate for the new, to serve national development and prosperity to full working capacity, and to be intolerant of irresponsibility and the attempts of some to give society as little as they can and demand from it as much they can. The morality Romanian socialist society promotes rejects those attitudes, where they still occur, like foreign bodies, as outmoded attitudes incompatible with the innovating changes taking place today in the social and individual awareness.

The growing role of public opinion in the educational process of improving the attitude toward work should be pointed out here. The morality of work is often expressly associated with the power of public opinion. Civilized behavior at work, in the family and in society as well as modesty, honesty, correctness and dignity are elementary standards of the moral makeup of the communist, all personnel, and every individual, and public opinion is expected to promote them consistently. The educational effect of public opinion in opposing those who condemn work is a characteristic of moral-political responsibility and of society's control over individual behavior.

As Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out in his speech at the Mangalia Conference, the communists, activists and party and state personnel have an important part to play in the whole task of building the new order and in revolutionary education of the masses. Their moral character shows the unity between socialist ideas and the practical, revolutionary effort to implement them. They do not and cannot have special rights or any privileges, but they do have special responsibilities. Upon joining a revolutionary party purposefully like the CPR, which intends revolutionary world reform, they must act purposefully by devoting their whole working capacity, their will and their lives if necessary to the service of the party, socialism, the people, and national sovereignty and independence.

Social experience bears out the truth that subjective factors like the personality traits and moral-political character of communists and cadres are vital to the effectiveness of the activity, to consolidation of the tie with the masses, and to efficient implementation of the general party policy. Development of the militant and exacting spirit heavily depends upon the close tie with the masses, regular discussion of the problems in every field, and promotion of a highly responsible spirit of criticism and self-criticism.



If the principles and moral standards of Romanian society, of the communists' life and work, and of social justice and equity are to play an effective social role, they must be assimilated so as to become components of the formation of the personality. This assimilation process requires not just a knowledge of what those principles advocate and mean, but primarily their complete assimilation as social behavior that determines the personality of each individual. Alongside an increasingly effective and substantial ideological and political-educational effort, an active and vital role is played by the workers collectives and public opinion against violations of socialist standards in achieving this major aim of the present stage of building fully developed socialism and of the effort to form the new man. Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out that it is only with widespread participation of the masses that we can keep reducing and finally eliminate every kind of violation of the standards of social coexistence. Show of intolerance of violations and the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and elimination of superficial routine in working with people are decisive factors here that determine the social-human effectiveness of the educational process.

Experience tells us that the educational role of public opinion does not mean replacing the rigors of the law and penal sanctions, but it adds to and supplements them. Therefore the communists, managers and all members of society are obligated to act in the spirit of socialist legality and to observe and apply the laws of the land, and not to allow anyone to disregard or violate them. They must take the most firm action to prevent abuse of power, traffic in influence, and use of any responsible functions entrusted by society for personal interest at the workers' expense.

In every historical stage, socialist construction in Romania and the increasingly intensive promotion of the socialist values and principles, communist standards of work and life, and ethics and justice have particularly required and require a radical restructuring of the dynamics of social relations. A growing trend toward qualitative change of the role of some factors for social control and also toward increasing the functions and importance of social control by moral standards has been noted, in this connection, within the regulatory system of society. Of course the legal subsystem will continue to play a socially important role for a relatively long time in regulation of human relations, but its share in the whole regulatory system will be supplemented more and more by moral standards as Romanian society gradually and rightly evolves to a social control whereby the standards of communists morality and of socialist ethics and justice will contribute directly to the assertion of socialist social relations in all fields.

The moral principles and standards are more general and less specific because their observance is not based on need of coercion and they are not explicitly formulated in any comprehensive and express system of obligations and sanctions for each individual case. Their formative power comes largely from the inner conviction of the subject who must conform to the behavior and moral standards of the community. In this respect the theoretical and practical value of the Code of Principles and Standards of Communists' Work and Life and of socialist ethics and justice lies in the original and creative achievement of a system of expression of the moral standards wherein social experience is generalized. Of course in general the principles summarized in a code of behavior cannot exhaust the entire meaning of socialist morality and behavior according to it.

The differentiated forms of education that experience itself suggests and bears out are becoming especially effective because they "reach" the individuality of the subject more directly, and when the differentiation stops outside the personality or subjectivity (age, occupation, level of training etc.) its effectiveness is still very limited. Many experiments prove that although they have many advantages over the general strategy, the effectiveness of such educational efforts that are differentiated only in a general way is still limited (often apparent). People of the same age, occupation, training, length of service, family environment, etc. may differ very widely in their subjective makeup and personalities, and conversely people with different general characteristics may resemble each other mentally.

It is known that it is the nature of morality to express the method of evaluating and standardizing human activity from the standpoint of the human, of man's fulfillment as a being for "others" and also as a being for "himself." In this connection the basic categories of ethics express the various facets of the concept of the "good" and the evaluation of what is human in man's existence and what is human in man's relationship to men.

In the social relations characteristic of the present stage, development of an increasingly good and effective ideological and political-educational activity and the growth of the role of communist morality and the values governing Romanian society of today are taking the form of a broader and more demanding participation of the workers in solving the problems in their fields, with the social-moral motivation of the sense of duty and responsibility in the work of every collective, work dedicated to construction of the fully developed socialist society and Romania's all-around progress.

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CSO 2700/49

CORRUPTION, EXCESSIVE USE OF ALCOHOL 'PAVE WAY FOR CRIME'

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 12 Nov 83 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Ioan Salajan, president of the Supreme Tribunal, by Graziela Vantu]

[Text] [Question] Now, when special emphasis is being placed throughout social activity on strengthening order and discipline, what priority duties belong to the courts and the Supreme Tribunal?

[Answer] Acting under the permanent guidance of the higher party organs and guided by the basic guidelines included in the documents of the 12th party congress, the national party conference, the broadened RCP CC plenum of 1-2 June 1982 and the working meeting on organizational, political-educational and work problems of 2-3 August 1983, all the courts currently are concerned with continually improving their activity in strict application of Romania's laws.

In fulfilling such an important and noble task, the courts and other organs which contribute to implementing the act of justice are directing their activity toward firmly defending the basic values of our society. In this regard, the party's secretary general Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu grandly defined the priority goal for the work of the justice organs in the present stage: "It is necessary for us to take action with total determination toward improving the activity of the organs of justice, the organs of domestic order, the militia and the security in order to insure the firm defense of the workers' property and all the people's property and the work and life of all citizens and Romania's laws, the country's revolutionary achievements and its independence."

In this context it should be emphasized that more firmness and exactingness are being shown in implementing the state's criminal policy in the sense that, by correctly evaluating the degree of social danger in the act and the perpetrator, severe punishments are being applied to those who have committed serious acts damaging socialist property, acts against life and people in general and to repeaters and other evil elements who repeatedly violate the country's laws and the rules of social life.

[Question] The Supreme Tribunal, in accordance with the place and role it holds in the hierarchy of our court system, exercises general control over the judiciary activity of all tribunals and courts. For that reason, please tell us what acts which deeply disturb social order are now being tried more frequently by the Supreme Tribunal?

[Answer] In accordance with its legal competence, among the offenses which the Supreme Tribunal is trying as the court of appeals, I would list the offenses committed against life, such as murder, assault causing death and other offenses committed with intent, which have resulted in someone's death as well as offenses against public property with particularly serious consequences such as embezzlement, theft, robbery, fraud and others.

By examining the cases of offenses against someone's life tried by the Supreme Tribunal, we find that the motive for committing these particularly serious acts is often a minor one. We see that the majority of perpetrators have committed offenses under the influence of alcohol, in restaurants, bars or right nearby; some of the perpetrators have been sentenced previously or have been known to have demonstrated violence. Also among the perpetrators of these offenses we find the unemployed, who sometimes act in groups. I feel it is also necessary to mention the sometimes passive and indifferent attitude of the people in whose presence acts of violence are committed. For that reason, I would like to be permitted here to endorse the need for prompt and energetic intervention from citizens in these situations; the intransigent attitude of public opinion toward any blamable act often can be a direct aid in the judiciary organs' activity and in preventing these types of acts from being committed.

Referring to offenses committed with particularly serious consequences and loss of public property, one should remember that a portion of these have been committed by groups of perpetrators who have acted in an organized way for long periods of time, profitting from certain defects existing in certain socialist units. In the cases heard, sometimes we meet shortcomings and negligence in the way in which financial-accounting checks are made, in the way in which guarding of the goods is organized and provided, the lack of exactingness in hiring certain people as managers and guards, the poor professional and political training of the people who are given jobs of financial checking, negligent management of public property in some agricultural units, particularly the zoo-technical sector.

What I think is more serious is the fact that sometimes the thefts of goods and large material values are encouraged by the corruption of people with leadership jobs or with financial checking and auditing duties or they are even committed with their direct complicity.

What is more, I feel that the acts of dishonesty and corruption such as giving and taking bribes, wangling, receiving improper profits and other serious acts which many times facilitate creating large losses of public property are a special social danger and must be combatted with even more severity than until now. Especially since these acts are totally incompatible with the principles of our society and are being condemned with all firmness by public opinion.

[Question] From the practice of the recent period of activity, what punishments are being applied against the offenses which make an attempt on someone's life or the citizens' belonging and public property?

[Answer] One can consider that what characterizes the activity of the courts in applying the state's criminal policy is the attitude of intransigence, of firmness, severely punishing those who commit serious antisocial acts, repeaters



and other evil elements. For example, the death penalty was pronounced on a defendant who had been sentenced previously to 25 years' imprisonment for committing a murder during a robbery. What was kept in mind in the case of this defendant was the fact that entering the victim's home at night, the victim being a 78-year-old woman, he murdered her with repeated blows to the head with a hammer, after which he stole some of her belongings. The same punishment was applied by the Supreme Tribunal, criminal section, to a defendant guilty of committing particularly serious murders. The perpetrator--a violent alcoholic who had been punished many times for repeated absences from work and removed from his job, a repeater with four previous convictions--was caught by two militia workers while committing a new robbery of public property, seriously wounding one and killing the other.

At the same time, the courts are showing every concern and attention, pronouncing punishments which do not take away the freedom of those who have committed offense of less social danger and who provide guarantees that they can be re-educated under the supervision of the work collectives.

Of course, an explanation and correct evaluation of all aspects of the specific content of the act committed, of the circumstances surrounding it, of the motive for the offense and its consequences and a multilateral examination of the perpetrator are sure guarantees for a correct individualization of the punishment so that it really corresponds to the need for defending the values of our society and that of reeducating the defendant, desiderables which, in the end, constitute the basic goal of criminal law.

[Question] Discussing firmness in applying the laws and in implementing the acts of justice, some people are being tempted to understand that this means merely applying some particularly severe punishments.

[Answer] The idea of firmness in the context being discussed has a much broader meaning. First, firmness means promptness in discovering, investigating and bringing to responsibility the ones who commit antisocial acts, taking them into preventive arrest as many times as is needed, sending them to trial without delay when their guilt has been confirmed by the investigations made, with strict respect for the law and all procedural guarantees. The concept of firmness involves concern of the court organs for unifying the holdings of the socialist units and the physical persons harmed, which means taking sure measures from the time of the criminal investigation in all cases where the losses have not been recovered and introducing into the trial all the persons called on in accordance with the law to be responsible for covering the losses along with the perpetrators. Firmness also means effective evaluation by the courts in the trials, well-founded establishment of the facts brought before the judge, of the circumstances under which they were committed and the limits of criminal and civil responsibility of the persons being tried, a correct legal characterization of the facts and responsibilities which are the subject of the trial and well-founded evaluation of the social danger of the act and the perpetrator, establishment of a punishment appropriate for the seriousness of the offense committed and the facts characterizing the guilty party, application of legal standards to cover the losses caused by the crime's being committed. In the end, firmness also means implementing the binding decisions without delay.

Of course, the entire criminal process must take place with strict respect for the rights and procedural guarantees provided by law. But, after a well-founded establishment of guilt, the penalties are applied with all exactingness and firmness in proportion to the seriousness of the offences committed and to all the information characterizing the perpetrator and his behavior and history.

[Question] What do you think should be undertaken now above all so that our justice system fulfills its duty to defend the revolutionary achievements of the people and the rights and legitimate interests of the citizens?

[Answer] The main goal which the courts have proposed to carry out in the current stage lies in raising the entire activity of implementing justice at high levels of quality and efficiency. Fulfilling this goal requires that those who implement the act of justice steadfastly increase their prestige, moral and professional authority, which involves improving their political, ideological and professional training, irreproachable ethical behavior, with this giving the judges not only prestige and authority but it also contributes the trust which members of society must have in the act of justice and in those implementing it.

Judges must watch even more for the act of justice to be implemented by respecting the principle of socialist legality, the presumption of innocence, the active role of the court organs in finding out the truth and in carrying out the rights of the parties and equality of all before the law, guaranteeing the right to defense, firmly promoting the criminal policy of our party and state. In the area of preventing offenses, it is necessary for justice organ activity to record a leap in quality and positively influence public opinion which, through its power of influence, is called on to contribute more and more to consolidating the climate of order, discipline and legality, to developing the socialist legal awareness of all our society's members.

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CSO: 2700/57

LJUBICIC URGES MORE FLEXIBLE OFFICE TERMS

AU071853 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 83 pp 1-3

[Interview given by Nikola Ljubicic, president of the Serbian presidency, to Davor Sosic, VJESNIK chief and responsible editor, Miroslav Lezaj, VJESNIK editor for internal political columns, and Radmila Stankovic, VJESNIK's Belgrade correspondent, in Belgrade; reported by Radmila Stankov--date not given]

[Excerpt] [VJESNIK] What is the experience in the SR of Serbia on the 1-year term of office and the work and responsibility of collective organs? What are the forms of concrete realization and trends of further advance of Tito's initiative?

[Ljubicic] So far we have failed to make any comprehensive studies on our experiences in developing the collective work, decisionmaking and responsibility in the 1-year term of office. Therefore, I will present some of my own thoughts on this.

Particularly important here is that, implementing Tito's initiative, we develop democratic relations in all collective organs, that these organs make decisions collectively and thus remove the danger of leaderist behavior [lidersko ponasanje], of abusing position, of being occupied with oneself rather than with social activities and duties. It is essential that within a collective organ every member has room to express his knowledge and abilities, his readiness to be active and that he fills up this room with his work and the initiatives that contribute to a more substantive work of that organ. Regarding cadres, it is, of course, very important that at all levels and positions we have people able to successfully cope with the burden of tasks and responsibilities in this phase of the development.

If we take such an approach--and we should--and if we direct our efforts in such a way and build such relations, the question of the duration of the term of office at individual posts achieves the significance it objectively has to have and there will be no overemphasizing its scope, as is sometimes being done, perhaps unintentionally.

There are different practices in our country as regards the length of the term of office. This is good, and practice should provide the answer to the question

about which solution is the best. It is important to establish such a length of the term of office which will most stimulate both collective and personal activity and responsibility. I would say that short terms of office sooner favor short-term orientations, a strengthening of the influence of executive and professional apparatus, the atmosphere of constant changeovers, instead of favoring an atmosphere of continuous work and greater responsibility. This is why the question of the length of the term of office should be approached differentially, without formalism, and I think that at many posts it can be extended without any danger of negative consequences. The length of the office term should be connected as close as possible with the nature of the tasks of individual organs.

The work of organs and individuals should be assessed both during the office term and after it. This assessment of the success of their work should be the basis for their election to new posts. If in this way it is established about someone that he cannot cope with the tasks, or that the nature of the tasks does not suit him, such a person should be replaced even before the office term expires, irrespective of its length. This is clear, and in principle well solved, but it should be implemented more in practice; it should ensure better circulation and constant renewal of cadres.

CSO: 2800/111



TANJUG REPORTS CROAT LC PRESIDIU SESSION ON UNITY

LD091817 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1907 GMT 8 Dec 83

["Croat LC Central Committee Presidium"--TANJUG headline; monitored TANJUG transmissions did not carry initial portion of this item, transmission begins with take three of a total of nine TANJUG takes]

[Excerpts] Speaking during the session about the activities in the ideological sphere, Stripe Suvar, member of the Croat LC Central Committee Presidium, expounded in more detail the actions that have been undertaken to promote ideological, political and actional capability and methods of work in the Croat LC.

Underlining that "three words" from the decisions of the 10th session of the LCY Central Committee are of exceptional importance for overall party work on the ideological front: "To eradicate nationalism" Suvar said that in addition to the struggle against nationalism in Kosovo, that struggle must be waged further afield, for all in Yugoslavia are confronted with "their own nationalism, and all of us together with our common nationalisms." He announced that the Croat LC Central Committee is preparing an analysis of nationalistic activities and in particular of attempts to operate made by the forces of nationalist clericalism.

"On the one hand we must suppress primitive sectarianism against believers and religious communities, and on the other hand we must develop very clear political and ideological action against the forces of clerico-nationalism; in this context, Suvar said, we can and should speak of nationalist dangers even in Yugoslavia, dangers that affect us all together." Suvar said in conclusion that the suppression of antisocialist ideological and political tendencies in the information media and in publishing is a very acute matter, and that action in this regard set out at the Croat LC Central Committee session in April of this year will be revived.

Dragoslav Markovic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, underlined at the beginning of his report the importance of direct contact between members of the LCY Central Committee and the entire organization of the League of Communists in Yugoslavia; today's discussion here is a part of this, as was yesterday's visit to the LC organization in Rijeka. Reiterating that the LCY Central Committee undertook to ensure that all the basic documents establishing the conditions for economic activity next year would be adopted by the end

of this year, Markovic spoke in more detail about the issues of unity, responsibility and the role of the League of Communists in the Socialist Alliance, which was also discussed at today's session. He said that the LCY Central Committee is also preparing a session which would be devoted to these issues, and the conclusion which ensues from today's session, too, is that these preparations should be speeded up. A full answer need not always be given to all questions, Markovic said, but some matters have come to a head, some matters have been placed on the agenda and can no longer be postponed.

As regards the question of unity in the League of Communists, Markovic said, we have a certain degree of misunderstanding. There has nevertheless been a certain degree of democratization in the League of Communists, things have opened up, there is open debate, but objectively, differing interests exist in society. How can you conduct a public discussion, an open dialogue, without any differences? We, burdened by a monolith that probably never even existed, interpret that as a threat to unity. Unity disintegrates in the struggle to develop standpoints. Differences are natural. The problems arise when after something has been decided, differing interpretations of what has been decided come about, and when there is no unity in implementing what has been decided and when we deviate from the principle of democratic centralism, so that the minority does not obey the standpoint of the majority. The minority has the right not to obey, but after that has no right to remain in the League of Communists, Markovic said.

These are problems, and we must clear things up a bit, we must get things straight in regard, too, to the matter of the independence of the League of Communists of the republics and the unity of the LCY. There is a certain confused conception, Markovic said, whereby unity is conceived of through negation of independence, whereby the unity of the League of Communists is conceived of not in the program and the statute and in the main ideopolitical guidelines, but in terms of unity on every specific standpoint without regard for specific features and circumstances and so forth. "Unity, Markovic underlines, is never given once and for all, unity is constantly built up, and a comrade in Rijeka was right when he added to what I said: Unity is continually being built up and taken down. These are the two integral things in the same struggle for unity and for the unity of the League of Communists."

Going on to emphasize that we are now at the stage when the economic stabilization program is giving way to a greater degree of concretization of the basic guidelines, Markovic said that the greatest problem now is how to find the right measure, bearing in mind our actual situation. Things cannot be debated outside the context of the specific situation in which we live. We must, Markovic said, get used to differing opinions arising both in the assembly and elsewhere--and why, indeed, should this hamper us--while at the same time we must lay greater insistence upon the unity than upon the differences when presenting this and informing the public about it. In this connection Markovic criticized the insistence laid by some information media upon the dissonant notes during debates, for instance at the 10th Session of the LCY Central Committee itself, or in the case of debate in the presidium of the Croat LC Central Committee and the SAWPY on joint educational nuclei, instead of upon what was jointly adopted. "Now are we going to fight for public debate and open

dialogue or not, for if things go on like this, we shall have to close the sessions of the Central Committee. For we want to get things straight even if we have to debate in a temperamental manner. And if someone is going to conclude from that that there is a lack of unity in the League of Communists, then this is what someone wants, or it objectively leads to a closing of the process of democratization."

Dragoslav Markovic went on to stress in particular the role of the League of Communists in the further development of socialist self-management and underlined that the prerequisite for the development of the system of socialist democracy is a guaranteed appropriate role for the Socialist Alliance as a front, which also means for the trade unions and all other integral parts of the Socialist Alliance, as exceptionally important issues for the social action of stabilization.

Concluding today's session, Josip Vrhovec said that this working party discussion, in which Dragoslav Markovic and Nikola Stojanovic took part, made a qualitatively new and valuable contribution to the debate on the activities of communists in this republic relating to implementing the stabilization tasks.

CSO: 2800/111

ARMENIANS ON TRIAL FOR SLAYING TURKISH ENVOY

LD122148 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1906 GMT 12 Dec 83

[Text] Belgrade, 12 December (TANJUG)--The chief defendant at the current trial for the assassination of Turkish Ambassador Galip Balkar last 9 March in Belgrade told the court here today (Monday) that this would not be the "last action of this kind."

Haroutiony Levonian confessed that he and the second defendant, Raffi El Bekian, had prepared for assassination in Beirut but refused to say anything about the preparations. Asked by the court, he said that the organization to which they belong, the Justice Commandos for Armenian Genocide, was financed by Armenians themselves.

El Bekian is also accused of killing a Yugoslav, Zeljko Milivojevic, who ran after him following the assassination, and wounding the ambassador's driver. The charge against Levonian include the shooting and heavily wounding another Yugoslav, Slobodan Brajovic, when he tried to stop him.

Levonian also refused to disclose the identity of a "third person" who had helped him and El Bekian in direct preparation of the attack in Belgrade, but said that the person was present throughout the "operation." Had the ambassador's car not stopped at the semaphore where they were waiting, they would have put off the action for another occasion, (?he added).

The terrorists foresaw everything except the reaction of Yugoslav citizens who tried to stop them. There were no plans on what should they do in similar situations, said Levonian, adding that they did not wish to hurt any Yugoslav citizen.

He also claimed that the organization to which they belong had first tried to realize the Armenian people's rights by political means, but turned to armed actions in 1975.

CSO: 2800/111



WORKDAY OF SOCIALIST YOUTH LEAGUE HEAD DESCRIBED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 13 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by Vedat Spahovic]

[Text] A day similar to the previous days of his mandate, which will probably be many times "repeated" until the end of his presiding over the Socialist Youth League. We spent a day with a simple young man, Dragan Ilic.

We opened the door of his office for the first time around 8:30 am. The first morning conversation was held with Braco Grubacic, director of Mladost.

Ljerka Mezga, whose duty on the twenty-second floor otherwise consists in contacts with the press, tries to help us to avoid running into people who are too busy. On the other hand, at this "height" of this skyscraper which houses sociopolitical organizations, the youth have nevertheless their feet firmly planted on the ground. Mirjana Pistinjat, the president's secretary, convinces us of this. She has so far worked with five of them (Vlasi, Kreft, Tupurkovski, Vukovic and Bogicevic). She is glad to be still in contact with many of them. They have not forgotten her.

The regular meeting for coordination has been set for 9:30. Change is possible; nobody is suffering from rigidity and formality. Dressed in a variety of colors, gay, and then serious, Pedja, Ivan, Vera, Biljana and Adnan arrived in the president's office a little later. They are members of the Confederation and the Presidium. They are equally responsible in their share of work.

From the talk with Dragar Ilic, these are his first reflections. We remember his answer to this question:

[Question] How brave are you, do you fulfill the obligations and the function the society entrusted to you?

[Answer] We are certainly not brave enough. We could change some things in the situation in which our generation and organization is now. We swiftly withdraw, often behave in an opportunistic way, sometimes we do not have a position for which we would consistently fight till the end. The occasion to display such an attitude is right now, in the realization of the long-term economic stabilization program.

Coordination goes on, the Presidium is getting ready, and this task of stabilization will be on the agenda. There has been a call from Zvone Dragan's office. His arrival at this session and address is expected. Last details about the delegation's trip to Bulgaria are being settled; fish chowder will be sent too. Bora Djordjevic agreed to help under extremely favorable conditions (material ones, of course), and smiles appear because comrades from the treasury will say later that there is no money.

Afterwards, Dragan Ilic has to make telephone calls and a quick arrangement with republican and provincial presidents.

What should we call the recess at 11:30--breakfast or lunch--at the twenty-third and highest floor of this building?

"Only let it not be dinner, too," Dragan Ilic jokes and takes breath before new assignments.

He is already expected downstairs by Rade Sekuljica, the president of the Croatian SSO. They will go together to a meeting which might give the answer to the question of possibly building a new Yugoslav youth center. The topic is not just "seasonal," vacational, but here too there seem to be quite a few meetings.

The "function" which these young people perform, their commitment and real work on so many essential problems that concern us all are on our minds again.

Ilic: "I think that we are performing our function in some crucial issues which we regard as being of interest to all of us. We organized some conferences of extraordinary quality, for example the ones on brotherhood and unity and the commonality of the young generation, or the common talk with the veterans, which you may remember. It seems to me that we have given a blow to the idea that the traditions of war and revolution are just to be admired, celebrated and demonstrated. We should observe some things in the context of their relation to the values of the revolution and the commitment of youth and of veterans toward these basic values and morals, above all."

We came back together with our president to a "more fiery" ground. We are listening to the ringing of telephones and intensely wonder whether a common young man who does not belong to any organ or body of the youth organization could talk with Dragan Ilic today (yesterday or tomorrow). Does anybody ever attempt it?

Ilic: "As for immediate communication, it takes place very rarely. Not because somebody here would not like it, but mostly because of an established way of working... The procedure to come up here is, as you have seen, rather complicated."

The question of the global socioeconomic position of the young people has prompted many people--Ilic says--to make new attempts in this area. At the Serbian SSO conferences, steps were taken aiming at the demystification of offices and young officials, and there were informal talks. In Montenegro,

a meeting of the presidium with young people was organized outdoors, at the estuary. Posters calling up young people to attend the meeting were put up in the city. This proved to be rather a good experiment, but they stopped doing it. The others started asking, 'What are you doing'?"

The SSOJ president receives letters from common young people, too. There may be such a letter in this morning's mail, which Mirjana Pristinjat cannot manage to give to Dragan Ilic.

Ilic: "In such letters I read most often about injustices made in the employment process and in seeking of advice by young people in associated labor about how they can influence change in their collective with their own effort, which they are ready to do. They say they are afraid to bring it up there. I can listen to many, but I cannot help personally, especially in the solution of problems that emerge in the process of employing young people. I cannot give a job to anybody."

Ilic mentioned his unemployed wife who applied to more than 200 jobs in the last 4 1/2 years. His personal income is 30,000 dinar and they are financially okay. Their son is their greatest joy. After the regular working hours Dragan Ilic again will not be going home. He has been called to Zemun to open the "Dusan Petrovic Sane" youth political school. Young people are waiting for us there too. It is an election conference, the new president and secretary of the commune is being elected. The SSOJ president probably began like this himself?

Ilic: "I came to Belgrade from the interior to study. I lived on student loans alone. My father is a worker, my mother a housewife, and there was no help from home. I dealt with questions of students' standard within the framework of the University Conference, and was then elected its president. Serbian Youth Congress came then, and with regard to our broad activity at the university I became a delegate in the Republic of Serbia SSO Conference, where I was the vice-president in my first mandate, and then president. When I returned from the military duty, my republic nominated me to the Congress for the office which I am holding now. A constellation of circumstances led to this. If it had been some other republic's 'turn' to propose the president, I surely would not be sitting here today. Neither I nor my colleagues on the twenty-second floor are the best, and it is not necessary to elaborate on this. We will be here a year or two, and other young people will come, hopefully better than we."

A large number of young people have never had a chance to show what they can do. Dragan Ilic knows many of them. They were his schoolmates, exceptionally active, excellent in athletics and at exams, unusually capable. Because of circumstances, Ilic said, we are talking with somebody who has had the chance. He may be too modest when he diminishes his sacrifices and commitment.

Dragan Ilic has not asked this afternoon for a conference car from Zemun. His Renault 4 will do to arrive at the book fair in time. (It is 6 p.m.) He hurries to the exhibit of "his" Mladost, but we would like to take him

to the Oslobodjenje exhibit. We intend to take out last photo for today. The SSOJ president met here with the president of the SFRY Presidium Mika Spiljak. They exchanged a few words in passing, and with this unplanned meeting the day slowly approached its end.

Will Dragan Ilic have time to, perhaps, "listen" to himself. What preoccupies him? From his "personal dossier" he revealed things that cannot be properly connected. He was an excellent mathematician and physicist, his parents wanted him to be a physician, but he is now, in fact a professional politician. There is a wide fan out of which on pulls out the best "feather," which is broken. Ilic: "After my term is over, I intend to finish the study of medicine, I will work in my profession."

Is he sorry for interrupting his study, or has it been good for him? He gives no answer, the essential thing is to work. In the same way as he did at school, he tried to continue in the above-mentioned offices, and he will again return, he says, to begin.

This morning when he left home, his son was sleeping.

He is going back home, and Milos is again sleeping. Peacefully.

12455

CSO: 2800/95



## PARATROOPER EXERCISE, TRAINING DESCRIBED

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 382, 10 Sep 83 pp 44-45, 72

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "Boys for Fast Intervention"]

[Text] Paratroop units are the most elite part of all the armies, and thus of ours too: in wartime, paratroopers are the first striking echelon, they go to the most difficult positions, and in order to train for their difficult tasks, they are subject to a very complex instruction which covers a series of sport and combat skills. We recently had the opportunity to visit a paratroop unit of JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] and to follow its performance during a maneuver.

The silence of the summer dawn in the big river delta was suddenly interrupted by the hum of airplane engines. High up in the sky there appeared a squadron of transport planes in the proper formation for the descent of paratroopers. A few seconds more, and the pale domes of parachutists will open. Joking temporarily stopped in the planes and faces under helmets became serious. Signal light is turned on. Swiftly, one after the other, soldiers are jumping from the transport plane. Altitude: about 600 meters. In 100 to 120 seconds they will already be on the ground. In fact, the entire unit can descend in about 6 to 10 minutes. And it is not a small unit.

The first wave of parachutists has not yet touched the ground, when there appeared another formation of transport planes on the horizon. Above them, in the hazy sky, one can see fighter planes which protect the paratroopers descent. Suddenly we notice somebody's legs in paratrooper's boots, energetically thrust a little forward, ready for the landing. The rustling of silk and the wind whistling through the cords of the parachute.

The first soldiers are already on the ground. Some had landed in the reed, some are hanging from the crowns of trees, and a small group has fallen into the river. They cannot always choose the landing spot, but they have learned to dive both in the daytime and at night, on unknown territory, forests and rocky ground.

The soldiers of the first wave are rapidly freeing themselves from their parachutes and unnecessary equipment, and leave the landing terrain. Before that, they have to remove those 80 square meters of silk and several hundred

meters of cords and belts. Then they have the combat kit: weapons and ammunition, radio transmitters, food for several days. Tens of kilograms more to carry.

The second parachute wave is descending from the sky. A fast "taming" of the parachute domes, and combat groups already move toward their goals. Some of them have to occupy the enemy's airport, others to join with their own armored unit. They run through fields and corn toward the spot marked by the signal rocket. At the edge of the forest, a surprise: armoured troop carriers. They will not have to keep running. While the carriers with the paratroopers on follow the furrowed village road, the soldiers are getting their weapons ready to use in the concluding action. The vehicles stop suddenly and paratroopers take up positions for antitank ambush. They also place antitank mines. Hand launchers are ready. The fiery welcome which the paratroopers prepared for the tanks would not be able to stop a larger tank unit, but it would certainly slow down its progress for a while, which is the paratroopers aim.

The other combat unit separated into several smaller combat groups after landing. Their goal is the nearby airport. Group leaders have air photos of all the objects they have to capture, maps and drafts.

But the "enemy" was not sleeping either. He expected the parachutists and organized a system of artillery positions, resistance points and defense knots. Their entrenched soldiers could not withstand the paratroopers energetic drive, approaching the airport from several directions. The paratroopers, namely, bypassed the main defensive forces and broke through their rear through gaps in the defense line, isolated single resistance points, and occupied the airport.

There came then the most important moment in the entire operation. It was necessary to save the captured airport from the enemy's counterattack until one's own units would arrive. This was a rather difficult task for all the paratroopers, because in such a situation they have many unprotected positions and a doubly long front. The fire-power is not sufficiently organized yet at the beginning of the defense of the airport, and the units lack engineering technology. This is why "our" paratroopers applied a flexible formation, manning only the most important posts and threatened areas, while leaving smaller forces in the first line of defense. In the center of the combat arrangement there was a powerful reserve which could intervene where conditions were most critical. The defense has a circular shape, whose circumference was about 5 km from the airport, which was sufficient for one's own planes to land without danger from the enemy's infantry fire.

One did not have to wait long for the enemy's counterattack. It was very powerful and dynamic, as if the enemy were angered by the "arrogance" of the paratroopers who captured his airport in the rear. A bitter battle for every object at the airport lasted 2 to 3 hours. The commander of the paratroopers combat group, together with other officers, concluded that he could no longer sustain the defense of the airport, especially as there was the danger of being surrounded. Enemy's tanks already approached the paratroopers positions. It was necessary to evacuate to a gathering place, 25 km to the south, where,

according to the reserve plan, a helicopter unit was supposed to pick them up. That is how it happened. The maneuver was finished, and the paratroopers were freed from their role of attackers "blue" which was somewhat difficult for them, although they are by nature aggressive. For the maneuver was taking place on our terrain, in view of our people and against the forces of the "reds," who were abundantly helped by the local population.

Soldiers do not join the unit of Commander Radomir Mrdakovic, whose guests we have been these days, by invitation but voluntarily. All the soldiers and all the officers are volunteers. Although people usually think that only those people can become military parachutists who had experience with parachuting in aeroclubs before joining the JNA, there are soldiers in comrade Mrdakovic's unit who had their first dive here. It is true that sport parachutists in civilian life have an advantage in being assigned to paratrooper units, but officers told us that any young man who expresses his desire can realize it, if his physical condition allows it, of course.

"It is enough if a young man during conscriptions expresses the desire to serve his term in paratroop units. On the basis of his statement, the military commission gives him a medical exam, and if his health is adequate for a paratrooper, he is definitely sent to a paratroop unit. Upon joining it, all the novices are once more subjected to a medical examination, this time by a team of specialized physicians, and if they cross this 'obstacle,' as well, the young people become parachutists and are included in regular military and professional parachuting instruction," as Commander Dragomir Novakovic explained to us. "Many young people had never dived before joining the JNA, and in our unit they have become excellent soldiers and parachutists," Commander Lazarov added.

All the commanders of this elite unit dive daily, too, under any meteorological conditions. There is also a specially-trained group composed of those who were parachutists in civilian life, with 600 to 700 dives. This unit contains a few national representatives in parachuting.

What kind of training do they go through? When young sport parachutists, as well as those who have no previous experience, come from their clubs into the military unit, they find themselves suddenly faced with new demands: sportsmen must become fighters, commandos, who must be able to go anywhere and anytime and perform the most difficult tasks. All this requires new exercises and training, development of reflexes, exercises on special parachuting devices. Only when they enter all this do they realize that this is not just a game... The public is convinced that parachuting is an entertainment for the courageous (or even for the crazy), but such an opinion is perhaps old-fashioned. Parachuting is more than that. It is, above all, young people's love of this country, because this is the impression we have got talking with soldiers and officers from Radomir Mrdakovic's unit. A parachutist's life is rather difficult and requires full concentration. In order to satisfy this, every soldier must be in an excellent physical condition.

To be a military parachutist means, at the same time, to be a good swimmer, mountaineer, judo expert, because all of this contributes to a better fulfillment

of the tasks. But special attention is paid to shooting, face-to-face combat, diving and karate. Soldiers are also trained to be able to survive in the wilderness without any food or water for several days. Even one line of the parachutists anthem speaks of their ability to survive under rough conditions: "A parachutist is never hungry because he eats turtles and snakes."

"Our unit must be combat-ready at any moment and any place," one of the officers told us. "When we are in the wilderness, practicing survival ability, we use practically everything: from edible mushrooms, grass, roots and leaves to turtles, frogs, snakes, snails and grasshoppers," he added. "Horned viper is very tasty when it is well prepared, and fried grasshoppers resemble fried pickerels," one of his soldiers added, passing by. The Officer Dragomir Novakovic confirmed that teas from various herbs can be really good, too.

What else should we say about this elite unit? The fact that foreign military experts highly respect it and mention it in some publications as a special Yugoslav shock unit in the Balkans (this is their formulation), that the unit was twice specially praised by the supreme commander during the maneuvers "Sloboda 71" and "Drvar," when Marshall Tito pointed out that our parachutists that day jumped in bad weather and rain while the Germans had beautiful weather 30 years earlier. It must be said that this unit has never been graded lower than excellent in maneuvers and that it continues combat traditions of the first parachute battalion of the Yugoslav Army of National Liberation, which was formed between 10 and 20 October 1944. All these reasons make the members of Radomir Mrdakovic's unit feel proud and display a kind of parachutist elitism which other soldiers lack. This is not bad, because having 600 dives or somewhat less with combat equipment which weighs 80 kg is not a small thing. It is even more difficult to be constantly at the top combat readiness in the armed forces.

12455

CSO: 2800/100



## DOMESTIC VERSION OF T-72 TANK DESCRIBED IN ACTION

Zagreb START in Serbo-Croatian No 383, 24 Sep 83 pp 44-45, 77-78

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "The T-72: Leader of the Fourth Generation"]

[Text] Foreign military specialists and also the domestic public have been waiting several years with curiosity for the new model tank which is now being introduced into the armament of the YPA [Yugoslav People's Army]. This is the T-72 tank which for the first time was shown in the recent "Unity-83" exercises. It was in these exercises that the T-72 tank, which is manufactured in Yugoslav factories, confirmed the expectations of the specialists: it develops a high speed, it has exceptional maneuvering capabilities, it has a precise cannon with automatic loading and a laser rangefinder, which put it in first place among the most modern tanks in the world.

When it first appeared before the world public, in the parade on 7 October 1977 in Moscow, it caused a sensation among Western observers although the French generals had been given an opportunity just a month earlier to examine it during a visit to the famous Taman Guard Division, stationed near Moscow. The traditional Soviet affinity for the French made it possible for the generals wearing kepis to be the first foreign specialists to see this new marvel of a tank, the T-72. They climbed all over it, they peered into its insides, not altogether believing the Soviet explanations about the new tank's exceptional characteristics, but a bit later when the Soviets showed it in motion, the French were impressed and immediately gave it their own name: the "running tank."

Six years have passed since then; the T-72 has in the meantime made its appearance in certain other armies, and indeed even in certain armed conflicts, but there is still guessing about its characteristics among military experts in the West, although several specimens have arrived in the United States by way of Israel, which captured them in its conflicts with Syria. They have studied it there in detail and concluded that the T-72 is the most serious "land challenge" to the West in the past 50 years or so.

Now this tank model has also appeared in the armament of the YPA, and it participated very successfully at the recent "Unity-83" exercises, showing that there is good reason why at the moment it has been proclaimed the best tank in the world.

The author of this article has had occasion to examine the T-72 tank in the unit of commanding officer Slobodan Marinkovic and to ride in it during the exercises themselves, when these tanks simply raced over the terrain of eastern Macedonia. No obstacles whatsoever could have stopped the T-72 in its assault on Ovce Polje, where a unit of these supermodern armored vehicles simply leaped over trenches and reared up above hollows. Even the steep climbs were no problem whatsoever, so that it can be truly said that the nickname "the running tank," which the French generals gave it, is altogether justified. And if we add the very precise fire, delivered so to speak on the run, the thick armor and the fact that these tanks are being manufactured under a foreign license by our own industry, then it is clear that our armed forces have taken on a new attribute with the appearance of this new weapon.

In a conversation before and after the "Unity-83" exercises with officers Mileta Plavsic and Tomislav Mikovic we learned that both the men and officers of the unit of Comrade Slobodan Marinkovic are satisfied with the tactical and technical characteristics of the new tank. Officer Plavsic, who remained at his own request in this unit because of the new T-72 tank, although in some other unit he probably would have been promoted more rapidly, explained their enthusiasm with the "No 2," as they call the T-72: "This is a very robust tank, easy to drive, with a multitude of computer-laser devices which afford precision fire with the first shell. To be sure, this also requires that the members of the crew have a certain technical sophistication, but my boys master that quickly. They are in love with the No 2, and I can tell you that in encounters with other tankers who are in other models of tanks, the soldiers with the T-72 show a kind of pride."

Even the commanding officer of the entire unit, commissioned officer Marinko Vukosavljevic, was full of praise for his tankers, saying "that in the 'Unity-83' maneuvers they operated according to the advance plan and conception of the leaders of the exercises, but that also in certain situations which they had to work out on the spot, they showed the necessary initiative and intuition in the use of this up-to-date equipment." All observers of those exercises will agree with this assessment, since the tankers in the T-72 were indeed wonderful.

#### Shells With Fins

It is difficult to state precisely how much the Soviet model of the T-72 tank differs at this point from the Yugoslav version of the "No 2," but perhaps to give a picture of this supertank it will be enough to mention the figures on the Soviet model. The T-72 weighs 41 tons (combat weight) and has a 125-mm cannon with automatic loading and a 574-kw diesel engine, which affords it a greater speed than all tanks known to date. These are figures which are the same for the Yugoslav and Soviet versions of the T-72 tank. Both models also have a special multiply antineutron armor, and then three crew members, and in addition a 12.7-mm antiaircraft machine gun and a 7.62-mm machine gun tied in with the cannon. The Soviet "No 2" can attain a speed of 80 km/hr and has a radius of action of 500 km, as well as three crew members who must be between 155 and 160 cm tall, since the T-72 tank is exceptionally low (its dimensions are these: length 6.4 meters; width 3.37 meters; and height about 2.2 meters).

The combat equipment of the Soviet model T-72 consists of 40 shells, 22 of which are explosive, 12 armor-piercing and 6 shaped-charge shells. The side armor is thick enough to protect the crew from armor-piercing projectiles, and the front armor is also strengthened with a special hydraulic overlapping V-shaped plow, which is fitted with teeth so that the tank can dig itself in in a few minutes. The low turret on the massive vehicle has the shape of a tortoise shell, which has indeed been the traditional approach of Soviet specialists in designing tank turrets. The driver of the T-72 tank sits in the middle, in front of the turret, and to examine the battlefield he has a periscope protected with a special cover. A device for mine clearance can also be installed on the hydraulic plow. On the Soviet T-72 the mudguards are covered on the side, over their entire length, with a 10-cm-wide strip of rubber, and four steel plates 6-mm thick can quickly be fastened to that strip. Their purpose would be to protect the sides of the tank from shaped-charge projectiles. Incidentally, it is estimated that the Soviet version of the T-72 has armor 219 mm thick.

The motor of the "No 2" is in the rear of the tank and is "omnivorous," using various types of fuel. It is fairly quiet and emits very little smoke. The T-72 has rather wide tracks, which means that it behaves well on soft and snowy terrain. These tracks have shown themselves to be superb, so that the Soviets are now putting them on the T-62 tanks as well. Another two fuel tanks (200 liters total) can be mounted on the rear of the "No 2"; and there is a steel cable for pulling in both front and rear.

The turret of the T-72 tank is two-seated: on the right side is the tank commander, on the left the gunner. At the top of the turret is the anti-aircraft machine gun, and on the side smoke canister launchers. Aside from that, there are also separate openings in the turret for observation as well as for infrared and laser devices. Our country has for a long time now been producing laser rangefinders for both tanks and artillery guns, so that probably our most modern laser rangefinder is also installed in our version of the T-72. The T-72 also has a snorkel (a pipe several meters long for taking in air and getting rid of gases, and its end would stick above the surface of the water should the tank be overcoming a water obstacle by driving along the bottom). As for the 125-mm cannon, it has a very long smooth-bore barrel; its loading is entirely automatic by means of a computer which also chooses the type of shell according to the type of target. All the projectiles have fins which spread after the shell leaves the muzzle and give them an amazing accuracy.

The running gear of the T-72 tank signifies the completely new approach of the Soviet designers to the problem of mounting the track, so that now the "No 2" looks like Western tanks in this regard. When the T-72 is compared to its main competitors, the West German Leopard-2 and the American M-1, which all belong to the fourth generation of tanks, it can be said that the "No 2" is lighter than both (41 tons for the T-72; 54 tons for the M-1; and 55 tons for the Leopard), smaller in size than both the American and West German tanks, has a higher caliber cannon (125-mm for the Soviet and Yugoslav tanks as against 120-mm for the Leopard and 105-mm for the M-1), and a speed that is some 10 km or so faster than its two competitors. Even the velocity of

the shell fired by the T-72 tank (1,700 meters per second as against 1,600 meters per second for the Leopard tank and 1,500 meters per second for the M-1 tank) is one of the elements of its superiority over the Western tanks.

### Replaceable Plates

"When the tank appeared, it was hard for the commanding officer to resist carrying out an assault with it," is a thought which has often been repeated by many tank specialists in the world, from Fuller, Liddell-Hart, de Gaulle, von Brauchnitsch and Guderian to Tukhachevskiy and Patton. Making its appearance in the twilight of World War I as a "deus ex machina" in the helplessness of the military thought of the time, which preferred positional warfare of the trench type, the tank was then only a great discrete promise which would later bring about a revolutionary change of direction in the conduct of operations in warfare. In the some 60 years of its development it has been perfected through improvement of its performance, although it has not lost its elementary form: running gear in the form of tracks, armored body and turret with a cannon. As a matter of fact, from the outset the tank was firepower, armored protection and mobility rolled into one on the battlefield. All three characteristics have changed with the years, sometimes to the detriment of the one, the other or the third, or their combination, but never with any one of them altogether eliminated, since then the tank would not be what it is. Differences in conception in tank building between East and West could be recognized in the ways they were fitted together, that is, in the way compromises were made among these contradictory demands over the years. For example, if we compare the British Centurion tank and the American M-48 on the one hand and the Soviet T-54/55 on the other, we might note the following:

- i. the Soviet T-54/55 tank is between 12 and 15 tons lighter, its silhouette is smaller, the ratio between the capacity of the motor and weight is better than that same ratio for the Centurion, and the same as for the M-48;
- ii. the consequences are differences in tactical mobility, while the effects of armament and ammunition on all three tanks were approximately the same, although it has to be said that the T-55 had a somewhat smaller battle supply of ammunition.

The large size of the M-48 and Centurion tanks at that time resulted from the large power plant with additional devices and units, the space for ammunition and fuel, and the greater capabilities of its cannon at negative elevation.

Soviet tank designers took a different road. Lower vulnerability, smaller silhouette, more difficult detection of the tank in the field, better capability for transport and towing of the damaged tank, easier crossing of bridges and use of the land as cover, and thus pressure on the adversary to make a greater commitment of his reconnaissance units and to increase the accuracy of his antitank weapon systems were all the fundamental principles of the Soviet conception of tank construction, which resulted in armored vehicles whose price was appreciably lower than the price of similar tanks in the West.



Today, when the third generation of tanks is still in the armament of the armed forces of the great powers, and even more of the smaller countries, the fourth is only beginning to be introduced, and the fifth is in the phase of design and prototype testing. Typical representatives of the tanks of the third generation are the West German Leopard-1, the French AMX-30, the British Chieftain, the American M-60 and the Soviet T-62. The parameters which essentially marked that generation of tanks are as follows:

- i. increased firing range and accuracy;
- ii. smaller silhouette and reinforcement of the acute angles of the main armored surfaces on the tank;
- iii. greater running capability on bad terrain;
- iv. a 50-percent increase in muzzle velocity of shells fired and also an increase in the caliber of the tank cannon to between 105 and 120 mm.

These factors were decisive in development of that generation of tanks, but in modern tank battles this was still not enough. The Middle East showed the full effectiveness of antiarmor systems, and the index of tank losses per hour increased 20-fold over the largest and fiercest tank conflicts in World War II. All of this led to construction of the fourth generation of tanks, in which the principal representatives are the T-72, the M-1 and the Leopard-2. These modern land cruisers also came about as the fruit of wartime experiences over the last 10 years or so, when the specialists have carried on an ever more heated discussion of whether the tank is outmoded or not, which led to the basic premise that present-day tanks were threatened by a virtual flood of effective antitank weapons, infantry weapons first of all. Thus the tanks of the fourth generation have also been given a new armor, made of several layers. The British and Americans have installed on their tanks armor of the "Chobham" type (named after the town where the British Army has its institute for studying armor protection), which consists of ceramic and aluminum layers fastened to the tank's normal steel armor. Use of this new armor has increased the tank's price by only 1 to 2 percent, without any sizable increase in weight. The ceramic layer is applied in the form of tiles put on with plastic adhesive. In case of a hit, only the broken tile is replaced in that spot, after the metal section in the next layer is repaired. The Yugoslav T-72 tank also has a special multiply armor protecting it against all types of hits.

#### The Road Into the Future

The present-day tank is a very expensive "toy" consisting of about 20,000 different parts. It takes about 50 tons of the highest grade steel and about 80,000 hours of work to make the average tank. As many as 9,000 subcontractors usually have a share in making the parts, and about 3,000 firms are responsible for the main jobs. Those are, of course, the standards which apply in the world, but they must also be taken into account by our own industry, since it is now manufacturing the new up-to-date tanks. Does this pay? Between 1976 and 1982 the price of a tank rose 210 percent, and today a modern

tank costs several million dollars on the world market. When we realize that the new tanks are not being introduced into armament in small series, then it is clear that by producing it at home Yugoslav industry will help the country's exchange balance, especially since the T-72 tank manufactured in our own country will cost less than in certain other countries which are also making it. By mastering the production of tanks, we relieve ourselves of imports, which is a strategic matter at moments of crisis in the world, and we have raised the general technological level of Yugoslav industry, employed new manpower, and the dinar paid for the new weapon remains within our country's borders. Let us be clear: the whole world is arming itself, and not to keep up with that trend would be dangerous to the country's security. Production of the new tank has finally rounded out the rich assortment of armament manufactured in Yugoslavia for our ground forces: from the rifle to the up-to-date T-72 armored vehicle.

But what are the design requirements for the tanks of the fourth generation (including our own T-72) and the various versions of their basic models? If we take the vulnerability of the tank, then it is above all a question of reducing the probability that it will be hit on the battlefield. The problem is this: If the entire tank blows up when there is a hit in the ammunition chamber, then the tank was poorly designed.

An attempt is made to reduce vulnerability with a smaller silhouette and by reducing the possibility that the tank will be detected (camouflage, special screens, thermal insulation). Inside the tank is divided into several compartments so that destruction of one part would not lead to destruction of the entire tank and crew. As the ballistic characteristics of the tank cannot improve, with better reconnaissance and firing against stationary and moving targets on the run, with greater protection of sighting instruments, with greater fire-fighting capability within the tank and greater autonomy as to oxygen supply, the effective firepower of the tanks in the fourth generation has increased very greatly.

It is anticipated that in future the tank crew will be still smaller (three), and they will have a better overview of "blind spots" from the tank, and there will be fewer of them. The engines will yield a specific capacity of 30 kw per ton of weight, or even more, and they will be used with a wide range of fuels under all climatic conditions. Gas turbines are already being introduced with capacity between 1,500 and 2,000 KM. The designers will require of the principal tank weapon--the cannon--high accuracy, a muzzle velocity of 1,800 meters per second, and at present this can be furnished only by smooth-bore cannons with a caliber between 115 and 120 mm. The improved multiply armor, automatic loading of the cannon (only the T-72 has it at present), the new laser-computer devices, the self-sealing fuel tanks, automatic fire-extinguishing equipment, small added-on radars for detection of armored enemy targets, all of this can be anticipated in the tanks of the fourth and fifth generation.

If the fourth Israeli-Arab war in 1973 was the beginning of discussions about whether tanks are outmoded as striking power of ground forces (the discussions were a consequence of the huge losses of tanks by both belligerents),

then with the appearance of this fourth generation of tanks the adherents of this armored weapon obtained arguments to support the view that the tank has not yet been eliminated from the battlefield. According to these views, the up-to-date new tanks will also regain the role they once had in the not so distant past, although they will no longer be so independent.

But today a conflict between the great powers that would not involve a decisive role of tanks cannot be imagined except as a total nuclear war, and no one wants that.

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**DATE FILMED**

12 JAN. 1984

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